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New Republic

Henry Wallace

Constructive Alternative to the Truman Doctrine

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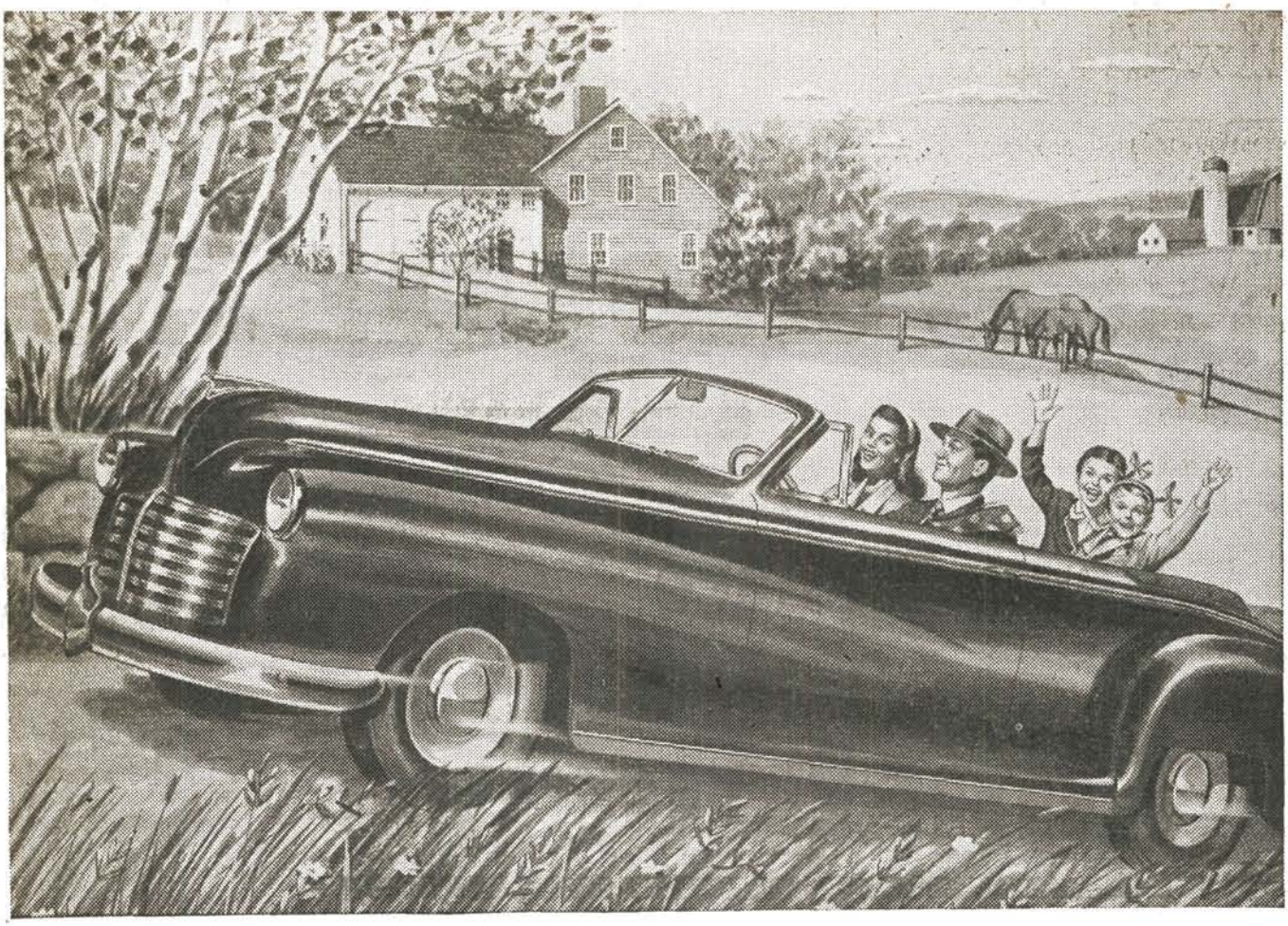

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New Republic

CONTENTS FOR MAY 19, 1947

3 Washington Wire
5 News in Focus
11 Henry Wallace
13 French Communists
17 Moscow Conference
20 New Food Facts
25 Books in Review
30 United Nations News
31 Radio
33 Movies
35 Farm
36 Correspondence
37 Labor
39 Bandwagon

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Washington Wire

Forgive the Modest Blush

THIS is veto weather. It is also the end of President Truman's second honeymoon. The anvil editorial chorus will soon begin. Chances are that Truman will reject, besides the portal-pay bill, the omnibus labor bill and the tax bill. None of these bills, we believe, can be passed over a veto. After four and a half months in office, the big break between the GOP 80th Congress and the Democratic President is at hand. The Republican Congress is beginning to throw its major legislation at the man in the White House, and the latter is going to try to knock it out over left field.

It is probable that the Republicans would rather have Truman vetoes than not. They are establishing their slogans for '48. For his part, President Truman has a soapbox on each of these controversial measures, to state his own position. All present evidence indicates that he will take it. The '48 election has started.

We are the only big nation in the world with a government that permits one party to control the Executive while a rival party controls Congress. This situation, when it occurs, is always considered somehow "accidental" by the lay public. Actually, from the Civil War down to Roosevelt's day, one or both houses of about every third Congress has been in political opposition to the President. This normally means deadlock and frustration ameliorated, oddly enough, by the equally queer fact that our two political parties aren't far apart anyway, so it doesn't make too much difference.

As it happens today, the GOP is dropping one after another of its big bills from this year's schedule. When Truman gets through with his vetoes of remaining bills, there may be very little to show on domestic affairs for a year's legislative work.

It would be nice to think that '48 might be better. But '48 is the regular four-year peak of political partisanship; it will be marked by guerrilla warfare, and the Washington deadlock by that time should be fairly complete.

THIS always modest column welcomes other commentators to the view here previously expressed that a big shift in emphasis is occurring in our foreign policy. In the April 28 *New Republic* we threw back our locks and pontificated that a "big surprise" lay ahead—"an Administration drive to get Congress to authorize a vast program of relief, loans and food exports all over the non-Russian world." In the May 5 issue we observed that "a major shift in emphasis has taken place in State Department strategy toward Russia" and that the new thesis would be that "the USA must build up and revitalize Western Europe as the best answer to Communist infiltration."

We like this business of quoting past columns—the easiest way of making a living we know except quoting somebody else—and in this case we think the matter is pretty important, anyway. So we'll just repeat, "In a sense, State Department strategists have come around, in part at least, to the point a good many 'visionaries' have been urging all along—that one way of combating communism is to give Western Europe a full dinner pail."

Now the Greek-aid bill has passed. But the Administration knows perfectly well that it isn't enough and won't do the trick even as an anti-Communist device. The State Department wants the world put back on its feet and knows that the United States must give most of the help. The Greek action was sold to Congress as an anti-Communist drive. The Greek crisis caught Marshall by surprise; he wasn't prepared for the early date set by Britain for getting out of Greece.

And so the Administration, rightly or wrongly, felt it had to act fast: it tried

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shock tactics on Congress, and last week finally was able to get its bill through on that basis.

But the Administration knows that a vastly bigger program is needed, a program involving loans and aid of the magnitude of $5 to $10 billion a year, not merely to contain communism but to head off world collapse. The job of selling this program has now begun. Dean Acheson's carefully timed speech last week was the start. His five-point program included planks for large additional foreign loans and vast increases in American imports. Acheson is a good man to break the ice because he is planning to quit his job soon in any case and isn't interested in what Congress says.

Speeches by others will follow. But the unanswered enigma of the postwar era still is, "Can Congress be persuaded to act in time to prevent a world economic collapse—one that will spread communism all over the place?" We have rubbed our crystal ball any number of times on that one but still don't know the answer.

NOTES. – Happy thought for the week: Senator Bilbo is still drawing his full salary from the government. . . . Though the new House bill ostensibly extends rent controls to December 31, it practically permits a 15-percent raise; almost any landlord can say to any tenant, "Either agree now to a 'voluntary' boost, or I'll throw you out when controls end, which should be soon." . . . Only 13 House Democrats finally voted against the Greek-aid program. . . . Granted Communist veterans had every right to lobby against the Greek-aid bill in House corridors before the vote, it's hard to believe they didn't know they were aiding the bill. . . . Marshall will get his foreign-broadcast appropriation restored, on a restricted basis. . . . Beardsley Ruml of Macy's and others equally prominent signed the National Planning Association report that "business must share the blame" if recession comes. . . . Biggest potential Democratic asset right now is OPA-defender Chester Bowles, the great "I-told-you-so" of our times.

T. R. B.

Washington

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New Republic

VOLUME 116, NUMBER 20, ISSUE 1994, NEW YORK CITY, MAY 19, 1947

News in Focus

By a Hair

Civil Liberties

How safe are the individual rights of the citizen when authority can invade his home without due process of law? In 1791 the Fourth Amendment to the US Constitution guaranteed, supposedly forever, "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures." But last week the Supreme Court wrote a new interpretation into the ancient principle that a man's house is the castle of his freedoms. The five-to-four decision spurred the liberal St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* to remark that individual liberties "too frequently hang by a hair—and too frequently does the hair break."

The narrow court majority upheld the FBI in arresting a man and then searching his home without a warrant. A petty mail-fraud case in Oklahoma brought about the vital legal pronouncement. A valid warrant had been issued for the arrest of one George Harris and a companion, C. R. Moffett, charging that they were mixed up in a scheme to defraud by mailing a forged check for $25,000 drawn on the Mudge Oil Company. FBI agents went to Harris' home in Oklahoma City and placed him under arrest. They handcuffed him to a chair and, without a warrant to make a search and seizure, the agents "meticulously ransacked" his apartment.

Chief Justice Vinson (joined by Justices Black, Burton, Douglas and Reed) declared that not every search and seizure must be effected under the authority of a search warrant; that FBI agents had authority to make a "reasonable search" and did not exceed their authority. On this and other issues the four dissenting Justices (Murphy, Jackson, Frankfurter and Rutledge) wrote three separate opinions. Justice Murphy cogently pointed out that authority to arrest "gives no authority to search the premises where the arrest occurs and no authority to seize except under the most restricted circumstances."

The agents had searched for the forged checks for more than five hours, pulling up the carpet, disheveling the bed, combing the linen and foraging drawers and cabinets. They came across and seized such dangerous instruments of crime as blank stationery, "several obsolete fountain pens," expense bills and 27 pieces of celluloid. In a sealed envelope marked "George Harris, personal papers," the searchers found 11 draft-registration certificates and eight notices of draft classification, possession of which was illegal. The checks were not found.

The majority ruled that while the objects found were not those searched for, they constituted property "the possession of which is a crime." They reasoned that because Harris had the draft cards in his custody, "a crime was thus being committed in the very presence of the agents conducting the search." Justice Murphy, on the other hand, called the search a "flagrant violation" of the Fourth Amendment. "Lawless methods of law enforcement are frequently effective in uncovering crime, especially where tyranny reigns, but they are not to be countenanced under our form of government."

Justice Jackson conceded that such guarantees may occasionally afford "a shelter for criminals," but concluded that "the forefathers thought this was not too great a price to pay for decent privacy of home, papers and effects. . . . They may have overvalued privacy, but I am not disposed to set their command at naught."

Justice Frankfurter recalled that President John Adams dated the American Revolution from James Otis' fight against general searches by the British in Massachusetts in 1761. The Court, said Frankfurter, has established that it is unconstitutional to make an improper search even for articles that are appropriately subject to seizure. "How can men be free," he asked, "if all their papers may be searched, as an incident to the arrest of someone in the house, on the chance that something may turn up, or rather, be turned up? Yesterday the justifying document was a ration book, tomorrow it may be some suspect piece of literature."

Although the agents testified later that they were looking for two $10,000 checks that were stolen from the oil company and might have been part of the fraud, Harris was convicted in a federal court for having the draft forms and was given a five-year sentence. Although his attorney protested that the evidence against him, taken in an unlawful search, should not be admitted, his conviction was affirmed in the circuit court and reaffirmed by the Supreme Court.

The majority of the Justices flatly asserted that, while the Court has always been alert to dangers to fundamental personal rights, "we should not permit our knowledge that abuses sometimes occur to give sinister coloration to procedures which are basically reasonable . . . [Harris'] conviction was obtained without violation of [his] rights under the Constitution." But Justice Murphy declared the Court had resurrected "the odious general warrant for writ of assistance, presumably outlawed forever by the Fourth Amendment." He admonished that an arrest warrant is "now sufficient to justify an unlimited search of a man's home from cellar to garret for evidence of any

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crime. Probable cause for the search need not be shown; an oath or affirmation is unnecessary; no description of the place to be searched or the things to be seized need be given. In short, all restrictions put upon issuance and execution of search warrants are now dead letters as to those who are arrested in their homes." Added Justice Frankfurter: "Nothing less is involved than that which makes for an atmosphere of freedom as against a feeling of fear and repression for society as a whole. The dangers are not fanciful. We too readily forget them."

The majority opinion, many lawyers believe, will not stand for long without modification. It will be an object of study and debate for courts and legal scholars and a source of uneasiness and bewilderment to the general public. Conceivably, as the dissenting Justices took pains to point out, the precedent might be used "by some future government to determine to suppress political opposition under the guise of sedition."

On the Books

Foreign Affairs

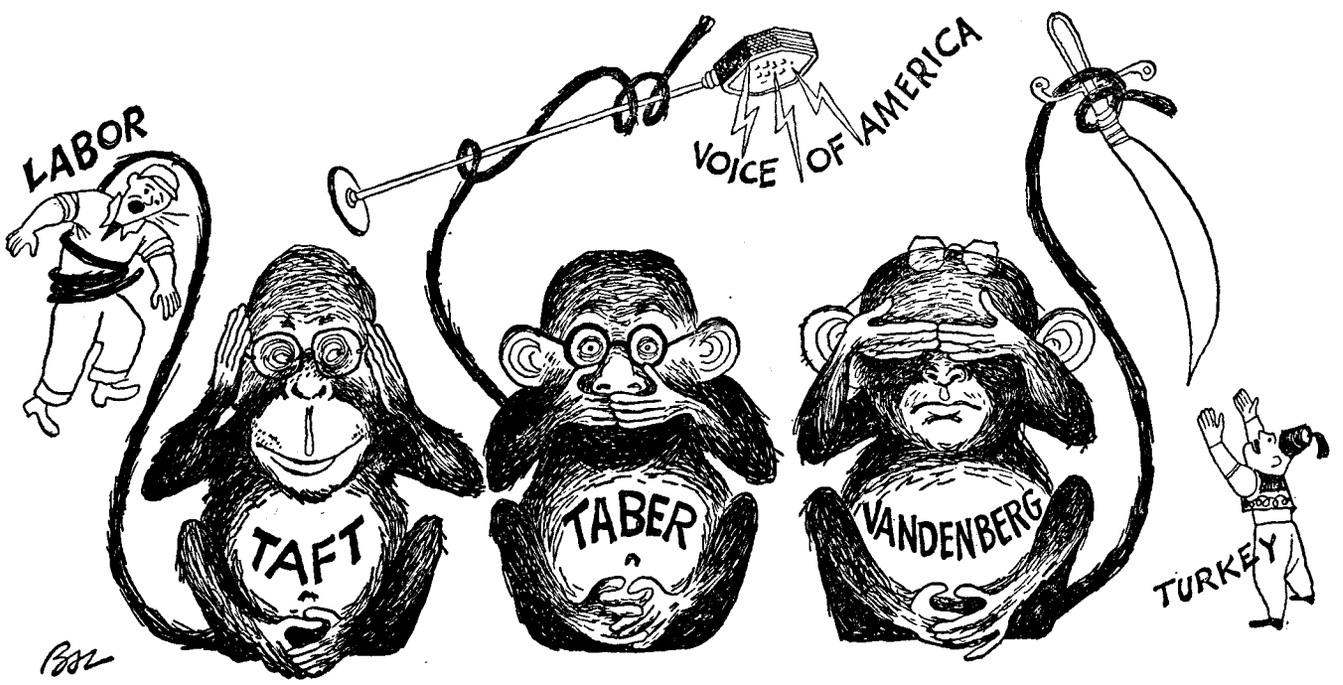
FOR better or for worse, the Truman Doctrine was ready for the statute books. It had rolled through the House of Representatives, 287 to 107, just 58 days after the President had propounded it from the House rostrum, and 39 days past the March 31 deadline which the Chief Executive had hoped to meet. Thus, although off to a late start, the US could now proceed to fight "communism" inside Greece with American dollars, goods, arms and advice. More of the same would stand between Turkey and the ominously described pressures from her Russian neighbor.

No one could be sure how the experiment would turn out. But, for the lopsided victories won in both Senate and House on the issue, the Administration had paid a price—a price that was worrying some Truman lieutenants.

For one thing, the long fight on whether the US should undertake the $400 million-aid project on a strictly go-it-alone basis had damaged the prestige of the United Nations. Many Americans could not understand why —if external pressures were menacing Turkish sovereignty, and hence, world peace—the US should start out to remedy the situation alone, without even consulting the peace-keeping organization it had helped create. They could not understand why—with a UN commission already working on one Greek security problem and a UN Food and Agriculture Organization plan already drawn up to rehabilitate the Greek economy—the US insisted on intervening single-handed to end civil war in that country. If, as Representative Walter Judd (R, Minn.) suggested in the final stages of House debate, the UN had been "oversold" to the people of the US and the world at the time of its creation, the Administration was now having a tough time trying to "unsell" Americans on the idea that the UN was competent to act in the Greek-Turkish situation.

Belatedly the State Department had developed a deep concern over the widespread feeling that the US should have operated through the UN. That accounted for the department's sudden decision to invite 250-odd civic organizations to send representatives to Washington on June 4 for a three-day discussion of US foreign policy.

Another worry for which the Administration had itself to blame was the hysteria drummed up during the debate on the Greek-Turkish bill. There was plenty of suspicion on both sides of the issue that the Truman Doctrine might lead to another world war. Opponents like Representative Lawrence H. Smith (R, Wis.) had asked if it would not be "much more forthright to ask for mobilization of our forces now?" Supporters like Chester Merrow (R, N.H.) had challenged: "If Russia thinks this is a declaration of war, then let her make the most of it." Mississippi's John Rankin, greatest tilter of



HEAR NO . . . SPEAK NO . . . SEE NO

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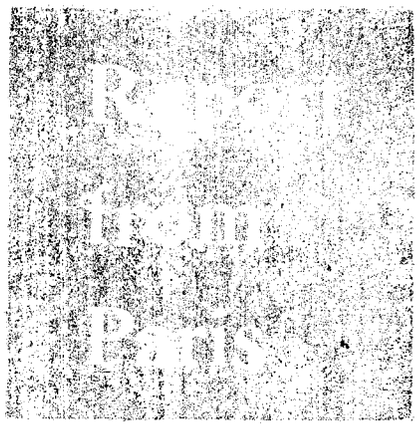
them all, shouted on the floor: "Communism is making war on the United States now. . . . I am one member who would vote today to send every Communist ambassador or minister out of the United States. . . . Every single one of them . . . is virtually a spy in our midst. . . ."

The Administration had wanted to scare Congress and the country, but not quite so badly.

Coupled with the war hysteria was the furore over "communism." Many unreconstructed isolationists who opposed the Truman Doctrine did so on grounds that the place to begin fighting communism was "right here at home." Proponents agreed that the fight should be waged on the home front as well as in the eastern Mediterranean. Of course, the fight was already being waged on the home front—with gusto. The House Committee on Un-American Activities had maintained a stiff pace since the start of the 80th Congress. President Truman was underwriting a "purge" of government employees suspected of subversive tendencies. (Last week he requested a whopping $24.9 million to finance the loyalty checks.) Even the US Supreme Court seemed to be relaxing its vigilance over civil liberties (see above).

It was obvious that some Administration leaders were now concerned about these things. James B. Reston in the New York *Times* said the Administration was "not happy about the emotional response here and abroad to the military and ideological aspects of the Truman Doctrine." Columnist Walter Lippmann declared: "The emotional response was bound to be bad because the emotional content of the 'doctrine' was not enlightening but inflammatory."

Both writers agreed that recent statements by Secretary of State George C. Marshall and Undersecretary Dean Acheson foreshadowed a new "tone and temper"; a swing away from the strategic and ideological arguments used so generally by proponents of the Truman Doctrine. With the congressional fight on the Greek-Turkish issue over, it was now time for the Administration to shift its long-range-planning emphasis back to Western Europe, where the eco-



by Michel Gordey

THE French political and social crisis was far from settled by the exit last week of Communist ministers from the coalition government headed by Socialist Premier Paul Ramadier. The end of the strike at the great nationalized Renault automobile works (see page 13) and the vote of confidence obtained by the new Ramadier cabinet might give the outward appearance of easing a difficult situation, but every Frenchman knows that the coming two months will be crucial.

July 1 was the date originally set as the deadline for Léon Blum's experiment in stabilizing wages and deflating prices while attempting simultaneously to boost production and exports. Revolt against the insufficient standard of living was the real determining factor in the Communist decision to withdraw from the government. The Communists, as long as they shared responsibility for the government program, felt in danger of losing their hold on France's working classes. The feeling was accentuated because Catholic labor leaders and anti-Communist elements within the Socialist Party have been trying to shake workers' confidence in Communist leadership.

The Communists are not altogether displeased at leaving the government. The settlement under which the Renault strikers returned to work included the Socialist government's payment of a production bonus—demanded by the Communists before their ministers resigned. Some Communist leaders believe that a "cure of opposition" in the Assembly will be healthy for the party which still enjoys the largest number of Assembly seats. They intend to continue their attacks on the Socialists' foreign policy and handling of colonial problems. Their attacks will stop short, however, of making reconciliation impossible. The Communist press seems to assume that the party will reënter a government coalition when the Blum experiment ends in July.

The Socialists obviously were convinced that they would get more American help for France with the Communists out of the government. But they are already expressing disappointment because the loan from the World Bank met only half of the French demands for $500 million. Moreover, the wheat expected from the US is only coming in in small amounts. Socialists are beginning to suspect that American officials have adopted a wait-and-see policy.

Both the Socialists and the French Center—Georges Bidault's Popular Republican Movement—have been disturbed by the visit here of anti-Soviet William C. Bullitt, the former American ambassador. Bullitt saw General Charles de Gaulle, and a strong belief persists in all French political circles that the US Government is strongly partisan to de Gaulle. US Ambassador Jefferson Caffery keeps in touch with de Gaulle followers. Paris rumors say that even if Caffery is withdrawn, he will be replaced by an envoy even more favorable to extreme anti-Communists.

SOCIALIST leaders are leery, however, of becoming vehemently anti-Communist and thereby driving a wedge between the left and right wings of their own party. Last week's vote in the Socialist National Committee which approved Ramadier's decision to form a cabinet without the Communists was by the narrowest of margins (2,529 to 2,125). It is true that if American help were forthcoming without strings, Ramadier would be in a stronger position to negotiate with the Communists in July. But it would be rash to assume that the Socialists are now ready to support all the implications of the Truman Doctrine.

The Catholic MRP seems satisfied with the turn of events. Foreign Minister Bidault returned from Moscow with the conviction that French foreign policy must gravitate toward Britain and America. The shift was also encouraged by strong hints to French Ambassador Jacques Maritain and MRP leader Francisque Gay that the Vatican might consider de Gaulle with more sympathy if Bidault did not assume a stronger anti-Russian stance.

Formerly US correspondent for the Paris-Presse, *Michel Gordey served in the French broadcasting section of the the OWI. He is a contributing editor of the* Tribune des Nations *in Paris.*

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nomic picture was deteriorating. New, large-scale US assistance would be required to avert collapse in some countries. But in arguing for it, Marshall and Acheson indicated they would talk more and more about economics and less and less about the threat of communism. In fact, Acheson had started out on those lines already.

In a speech at Cleveland, Mississippi, the Undersecretary emphasized over and over the absolute necessity of additional US efforts to help rehabilitate Europe. He flatly declared that the US would have to undertake "further emergency financing" of needy countries—a remark which would not increase his popularity with economy-crazed Republican congressmen. The US, said Acheson, would have to "push ahead with the reconstruction of those two great workshops of Europe and Asia—Germany and Japan—upon which the ultimate recovery of the two continents so largely depends."

But Acheson did not mention the word "communism." He touched only briefly on the thesis that the US would give priority in aid to "free peoples who are seeking to preserve their independence and democratic institutions and human freedoms against totalitarian pressures. . . ."

Meanwhile, one of the top discussion topics in Washington was: Who would be appointed by President Truman to administer the US programs for Greece and Turkey?

68 Years

Connecticut

ABOUT every other year the Connecticut Legislature chooses up sides at Hartford for a traditional tug of war over the issue of birth control. For 68 years the state has had a statute making it illegal for a physician to prescribe or for a patient to practise birth-control methods (the *NR,* March 31). Since 1923, various legislators have attempted to amend or repeal the law. This week, for the twelfth time, they were trying again.

State Representative John DeK. Alsop had introduced a mild bill which would allow married women to use contraceptives on a doctor's advice, provided their health might be seriously endangered by pregnancy. In its first test last week the Alsop bill passed with a comfortable House majority (180 to 40), and headed for its crucial test in the Senate. Meanwhile a battle raged hot and heavy outside the legislative chambers.

Official Catholic spokesmen attacked the Alsop measure bitterly as an "entering wedge leading to abuses." Prominent in the opposition were the Catholic War Veterans, whose delegates testified at previous public hearings. Lined up behind Alsop were 83 delegates to the 155th convention of the Connecticut Medical Society, a Physicians' Committee of 100 (which formulated the substance of the Alsop proposal), a group of 500 ministers and, according to an Elmo Roper survey, more than 85 percent of the Connecticut population. Newspaper support included the influential and conservative Hartford *Courant.*

The Reverend Lawrence Skelley, director of hospitals for the Hartford Diocese, had openly clashed with the Committee of 100 by dismissing from the staffs of Catholic hospitals in Stamford, Waterbury and Bridgeport six members who refused to withdraw their support of the bill at Skelley's request. The removals brought strong censure from 17 Protestant ministers, two rabbis and a social worker, who signed a statement commending the six doctors for refusing to retract "a principle of conscience." A member of the Legislature suggested that the state withhold grants from the hospitals involved because of the dismissals.

Even a flock of Connecticut school children got a look-in on the scuffle. While the House debated the Alsop bill, a teacher unwittingly trundled several hundred fifth and sixth-graders into the galleries to see statesmanship in action. As soon as the subject under discussion became apparent, the teachers nervously shooed the youngsters out of the chamber.

Although similar legislation has passed the Connecticut House on several previous occasions, it has always lost out in the Senate. If the pattern is repeated this week, Connecticut will remain in the exclusive company of Massachusetts as the only states which still outlaw birth control.

New Deal Mayor

Maryland

BALTIMORE, the US's seventh city, last week went through a mayoralty election notable for three things: the Democrats ousted the Republicans; a consistent New Deal congressman was handsomely elected; and the anti-liberal Democratic machine of Senator Millard E. Tydings was licked in the primary.

The man who chalked up these records was Thomas D'Alesandro Jr., a 44-year-old Catholic grandson of an Italian immigrant, and the first Baltimore mayor not of old American ancestry. Since 1939 D'Alesandro has served in Congress as the only Maryland Representative to stick to the New Deal through thick and thin. One of his seven children is named Franklin D. Roosevelt D'Alesandro. When he entered the Democratic primary last month, Senator Tydings, no friend of the late FDR and his works, threw his old-line machine against D'Alesandro. So did William Curran, Baltimore's nearest thing to a Democratic boss. Labor did not take an active, organized part in the fight, but the workingmen of industrial south and southeast Baltimore know a friend when they see one. The Tydings-Curran man went under. In the inter-party campaign the Democratic bosses joined the bandwagon. Other city offices were at stake, but the Republicans concentrated on D'Alesandro. Labor rallied again. Result: D'Alesandro, 96,000; Republican Deeley K. Nice, 72,000. D'Alesandro lost only one district.

Cautious liberals pointed out that Baltimore is normally Democratic, that the incumbent, Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin, the first Republican mayor in many years, did not choose to run. D'Alesandro will resign from Congress before he takes office on May 20, and a significant by-election will presumably take place soon. But Baltimore will be worth watching because of the city bond issues authorized in the recent election. With newly acquired state aid, D'Alesandro will have some $100 million to work with. The Baltimore *Sun* commented a little apprehensively that with that kind of money he could change completely the face of the old seaport city.

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Gesture

Spain

THE Spanish workingman who labors under the heel of Generalissimo Francisco Franco must be careful not to attend the bull fight or get sick on a working day. The government might suspect him of striking, in which case it could deprive him of his seniority, cut his pay or even fire him from his job. So reads the law. Last week Franco's oppressive labor code ran afoul of formidable opposition.

In the city of Bilbao, located in the heart of Spain's ultra-conservative, church-going Basque country, more than 30,000 workers left their jobs in defiance of the Franco no-strike edict. The walkout included two-thirds of the district's labor force and paralyzed the three largest factories in highly industrialized Bilbao (population, 200,000). The protest, which stemmed from a one-day May Day strike of 13,000 Basque workers, grew to giant proportions when Civil Governor Genero Riestra tried to enforce the no-strike law against the demonstrators.

Despite Riestra's blustering, the walkout lasted for five days. Soon it was rumored that the Nationalist government, embarrassed by Riestra's determination to punish the strikers, would agree to let bygones be bygones if the men would return to work. But the Governor steadfastly declared that the demonstrators would be penalized to the full extent of the law. Whatever happened, the strike had been the most powerful demonstration of popular feeling since the civil war had ended Spanish liberties.

Rookie

Race Relations

WHEN the Brooklyn Dodgers came north from spring training this year, they brought along something Flatbush hadn't seen in years—a first baseman who supposedly could hit. Joy was unconfined, and in no time at all Brooklyn had conceded itself the National League pennant. The rookie had a nice swing, could drag a bunt and didn't reach for too many bad ones. Last year he had hit .349 for the Montreal Royals

Protest

Seattle

OFFICIAL representatives of 10 Far Western states, battling the deep House cuts in federal funds for reclamation and power development (the *NR*, May 5), met in Seattle last week to pledge a "firm and united stand" for restoration of the appropriations by the Senate. Most of the eight governors present indicated they would carry the fight personally to the nation's Capitol. The conference was called together by Washington's Governor Mon C. Wallgren with a warning to congressional diehards that "the West faces an economic crisis—one which threatens the future of the whole Western economy and signifies danger to the welfare of the nation."

One after another, four Republican governors, four Democratic governors, and representatives of two other state executives unable to attend, stressed that the conference was nonpartisan. "We are not interested in politics," Democratic Governor Lester C. Hunt of Wyoming said. "We are interested only in the West." Republican Governor Earl Snell of Oregon, for good measure, belabored the House cuts as "a gross error of judgment—economically, socially and politically." Such bipartisan agreement was notice enough that the Republican congressional majority cannot politically offend the West now and still hope to capture its presidential vote in '48.

Throughout the public discussion that opened the one-day session ran this common theme: Expansion of Western economy—even maintenance of the present economy—requires continued development of its natural resources. Governor Earl Warren of California pointed out that one-fourth of the nation's increase in population since 1940 had taken place in his state.

Much of California's industry is new and untested, Warren explained. To supplement this industry and provide a source of livelihood for 2.4 million additional population, the vast Central Valley reclamation project must be completed (see page 35). Already $160 million has been spent and more millions are needed. "If this project does not go ahead rapidly, I'm afraid it may end in disaster for us," Governor Warren predicted.

Some governors protested the loss of particular projects—such as those in Wyoming to irrigate land for 10,000 new farms for veterans, or in Montana to irrigate land for 15,000 new farms. Some protested curtailment in power generation and transmission so necessary for developing new industry. All joined in sharp condemnation of a reduction from $5 million to $125,000 in funds for surveys and general investigation so vital to future development. And all emphasized again and again that the projects the House eliminated were self-liquidating and wealth-creating, the ultimate benefits from which reach throughout the nation.

The Western protest grew out of the spontaneous agreement of governors and civic leaders. It united chambers of commerce and labor unions. And, surprisingly to some Easterners, some of the top figures in private power companies of the Northwest joined with public-power officials to urge restoration of federal funds for power transmission. The cut from $26 million to a little under $7 million in the Bonneville Power Administration's appropriation brought immediate protest from the largest private power company in the Northwest, Puget Sound Power and Light. Speaking out ahead of the governors' conference, Frank McLaughlin, company president, termed the House cuts "shocking," reported the power situation "extremely critical" (the *NR*, May 12) and warned:

"If these drastic cuts are permitted to stand and this Congress does not provide sufficient appropriations, the effect on the over-all economy of this state will be devastating and will result in curtailed use of power, fewer jobs and reduced payrolls. It is a matter which vitally concerns every citizen because the welfare and progress of the state are at stake."

That was strong language from a private utility which still holds its annual meetings in Boston and fights public power as vigorously now as any time in the past half-century. Less outspoken but in similar vein, James H. Polhemus, president of Portland General Electric Company, told the Northwest Electric Light and Power Association which he heads, "Bonneville Power Administration has become the largest wholesaler of power in the Northwest and must continue so. The Columbia is a stream too large for private investors to develop economically." Whatever a distant Congress may decide, the West had never been so united on an economic issue.

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to top the International League. Switching to a new position on only 16 days' notice, he seemed able to stand up under pressure. His name was Jackie Robinson. He was a Negro.

A lot of people who had never been to a ball game wondered how Robinson would do. The New York *Herald Tribune* made room on its sober editorial page to inform silk-stocking readers in Westchester about the first Negro to make the big leagues: he was a college graduate with a wife and a child, and had been discharged from the Army as a second lieutenant. "Baseball's color line has been dented and we hope, heartily," ventured the *Herald Tribune,* "that Robinson can hit major-league pitching."

The quiet, gentlemanly Brooklyn first-sacker could appreciate the boost. He was batting against a tradition that had barred many first-rate players from the majors—like ebony-skinned Satchel Paige, who beat Dizzy Dean and Bob Feller in exhibition games at an age when most players would have hung up their spikes. Only John McGraw of the Giants had ever smuggled a Negro onto a major-league bench, by advertising him as a full-blooded Indian.

As the season started, some players treated Robinson differently from the way they did each other. One day he hit a homer and, as he rounded first, the coach turned and began studying the ground for four-leaf clovers. As Jackie crossed the plate he got no handshakes. When the Dodgers played in Philadelphia, Robinson wasn't allowed in the same hotel with the team. Philadelphia manager Ben Chapman and his leather-lunged bench jockeys rode the rookie hard and didn't take off their spurs. There were stories, too, that Robinson had received threatening notes telling him to get out of baseball. Even in the clubhouse with his own teammates, Robinson was on the outside. A sports writer wrote: "Robinson is never part of the jovial and aimless banter of the locker room. He is the loneliest man I have ever seen in sports."

The pressure was tough. At the end of last week's series with the Cards, Robinson's average had dropped to .241. Then came the latest inning of trouble for the rookie. Stanley Woodward, New York *Herald Tribune* sports editor, broke the story that a group of St. Louis Cardinal players had planned a league-wide strike against Robinson's presence in the Brooklyn line-up, and that only forceful action by National League president Ford Frick had headed it off.

When reporters tried to check the story, they got the usual half-hour of silence from club officials. Baseball Commissioner Happy Chandler said he had never heard of such a thing. But finally Frick himself confirmed Woodward's story. He had averted the strike by threatening the conspirators with suspension. "I do not care if half the league strikes," he declared. "Those who do it will encounter quick retribution. All will be suspended and I don't care if it wrecks the National League for five years. This is the United States of America and one citizen has as much right to play as another."

The next night Robinson walked over to the Philly dugout before the game and sportingly shook hands with hard-riding Ben Chapman for the benefit of photographers. Then he bashed out a double and a single. In the ninth, he raced in under a pop-up bunt, snagged it and rifled to first for a brilliant double play. The papers said it was the best game of rookie Jackie Robinson's major-league career.

Gunfire

Labor

THE only sensible way to look at the debate on the Senate's labor bill last week was to consider it not as the formulation of labor law but as one of the opening big guns in the 1948 campaign. No one, least of all the Senators, had any idea they were putting anything on the books. The Republicans were out to put President Truman on the spot; the Democrats were hedging in case the voters last November had really wanted labor trimmed a bit. Labor peace seemed in the main assured for 1947, so the game was not too dangerous anyway.

Senator Robert A. Taft's (R, Ohio) labor bill had been pared down in committee. He set out on the Senate floor to put the teeth back. Early in the week he ran into unexpected trouble. A GOP amendment to restrict industrywide collective bargaining was voted down, 44 to 43. Senator Capehart (R, Ind.) puffed into the room seconds too late to cast his vote for the measure. Taft was obviously surprised and miffed. Sixteen Republican Senators, seven of them freshmen, had defied his leadership—his first serious defeat on domestic legislation.

There is little doubt that Taft would like to present an omnibus bill which President Truman will veto. But to make this play come off, the bill will have to be just right—not so reasonable that Truman could sign it, not so rough that most voters would approve his veto. This took some careful management, what with Republicans like Senator Joseph Ball (Minn.) introducing amendments to which no one could seriously subscribe except the NAM. By the end of the week the score stood thus:

¶ Adopted—amendments to restrict employee welfare funds, penalize jurisdictional strikes and secondary boycotts, forbid the NLRB from certifying any union among whose officers there is a Communist or Communist sympathizer.

¶ Defeated—amendments to authorize use of injunctions by private parties, prohibit industrywide bargaining, outlaw the union shop.

Friday evening at eight o'clock, when it looked as if the job were done and the Taft steam roller was knocking down last-minute attempts to alter the bill, Senator James E. Murray (D, Mont.) rose to announce that he would introduce an entirely new bill based on the mild labor recommendations made by President Truman. Taft was furious and threatened a motion to table the bill, which he could doubtless have carried and thus killed it without discussion. But Murray went ahead and introduced his measure and several Democratic Senators said they wanted a chance to get some remarks on the record concerning it. So the Senate was forced to recess, with debate on the Murray substitute in order this week.

The Taft cohorts, and their Southern Democrat allies, will of course be able to defeat the Murray bill. But no one will be able to say that the Democrats just sabotaged Republican labor legislation and had nothing constructive of their own to offer.

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Henry Wallace

The Constructive Alternative

EVERY good American is looking for the surest road to peace. Even the men who accept as inevitable a third world war still talk in terms of peace.

The Truman Doctrine has been advanced as one road to peace. Its supporters accept as inevitable the contest between American power and Soviet power. They assert that this conflict may be resolved short of war by increasing American power at the expense of Soviet power throughout the world. This they propose to do through the use of America's economic resources at a time when Russia, according to their theory, is too far weakened by war to reply.

Americans are asked to support this doctrine in the name of freedom. But inevitably, once the struggle for the world is accepted as the supreme issue, power itself becomes more important than the ends for which power is sought. In the name of freedom, we come to terms with dictators such as Peron, we tolerate fascists such as Franco, we support corrupt governments such as the undemocratic one that rules Turkey. We seek to drive France and other progressive countries away from dynamic democracy and toward reaction. So long as we think only in terms of extending our power, freedom will be weakened, not served, by the pressure we exert abroad.

Nine weeks after its announcement, the Truman Doctrine seems aged and senile. No one defends it with any heart. The men who reduced it to a crusade against communism are now threatening to reduce it farther in the name of an important crusade to cut down federal expenditures. Liberal Republicans, who condemn the Truman Doctrine as negative and yet support it, lack the vigor and conviction of the reactionaries, who rip to shreds an already hopelessly inadequate relief program. These acts reduce the Truman Doctrine to absurdity. A large body of men in Congress now recognize this, and many of them are speaking out.

Even though the military loans to Greece and Turkey have passed both houses of Congress, the timetable of the program, if there ever was one, is certainly upset. All this was bound to happen. Nothing so ill conceived, so undefined, so negative and so fear-ridden as the Truman Doctrine could have won the all-out support of Americans who still believe in world coöperation and recognize that doctrine for what is it—a move away from the United Nations and peace. The danger is that the hopes for an all-out program for world coöperation have been weakened, although the need for such a program has been dramatized. In conjuring up a warlike hatred of Russia, the real directors of the Truman Doctrine as it emerges from Congress—I mean John Foster Dulles and others—have also conjured up a new isolationism.

The Truman Doctrine calls for millions to be spent in arming anti-Soviet regimes. It is no alternative program for isolationists to withhold those expenditures. Neither program begins to meet the needs of the world. As progressives—Democrats, Republicans and independents—we need to make a fresh start in America's world policy. We who say that the Truman Doctrine leads to imperialism and an armaments race, and that isolationism leads to chaos, must develop a constructive alternative.

That alternative is a world reconstruction program, underwritten by American resources and administered by the UN. This positive peace program consists in mobilizing all the constructive ability of the world to restore the devastated areas and to develop the backward areas on a long-term, self-liquidating basis. Peace by this road will not come cheaply, but it is cheaper than sinking American assets in a worldwide maze of Maginot Lines.

THE time has come to approach the needs of the world from the standpoint of all humanity. The world's capital needs for the next 10 years amount to over $150 billion for reconstruction and development. Of this, one-third is needed for Europe. About half of the total will be raised locally. But America must supply the major portion of the capital imports of overseas nations because America, with close to 40 percent of the world's productive capacity, is the only nation with resources to spare for investment abroad.

To restore prewar living standards in Europe and Asia will require $5 billion annually in capital exports from America for five years. To raise Eastern European living standards to the level of Western Europe would require a similar amount. To raise the living standards of the thousand million people of Asia to Western European levels would require American capital exports of $100 billion spent over a generation. This is the nature of the economic objectives that a world bent on peace must face.

Undoubtedly the best way to finance these funds would be through the International Bank. Recommenda-

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tions would be made to the Bank by UN agencies such as the Economic Commission for Europe. Russia is a member of that commission and it is to be hoped that her delegate, Valerian Zarubin, will modify his position that only the needs of the invaded countries should be considered as appropriate for international assistance. The needs of the invaded countries are certainly greatest, but backward areas must also be given consideration. We need increased production on a worldwide basis with the emphasis generally placed on those areas which need capital most and which can use capital best.

As it is now set up, the International Bank is hampered by its inadequate capital structure: $8.3 billion of authorized capital, but only 20 percent to be subscribed. Beyond that, most of the money for the proposed loans will be furnished by the sale of the Bank's bonds, and investors may be reluctant to buy them unless the risk is held to a minimum. The program financed by the Bank would be administered on a national or a regional basis by UN staffs, made up of representatives of the Social and Economic Council and the specialized agencies. This is the type of project proposed in the report of the FAO commission of inquiry in Greece.

AT THE heart of this program is the relationship of America and Russia. I am convinced that the key to this relationship is not the contrast between Russia's military weakness and America's present military strength, but the contrast between her desperate need for capital resources and our increasing abundance of these resources.

Before leaving for Europe, I wrote in the *New Republic* that the Moscow Conference would fail unless reconstruction were undertaken on a European basis. I remembered that in wartime German armies occupied an area as large as the Middle West, and containing the equivalent of one-half the population of the United States. In this area the Germans destroyed more property than America produced in 1942. They destroyed six million dwellings, the equivalent of one in seven American homes, leaving homeless the equivalent of one in two Americans west of the Mississippi. They destroyed the equivalent of one-third of the railways west of the Mississippi, 13 percent of the tractors, all the horses, 30 percent of all the cattle and 80 percent of the sheep. They demolished mines producing the equivalent of one-sixth of America's coal production, and steel mills producing the equivalent of one-fourth of our pig-iron production. They tore down factories employing four million Russian workers. These proportionate losses, of course, were a far greater blow to Russia's productive capacity. And for every American soldier who died fighting the Nazis, 14 Russian soldiers were killed.

Dulles asserts that the Moscow Conference failed primarily because Russia was willing to risk restoring German industry. But the facts I have cited are too weighty for Dulles to shrug off. Russians know far better than Dulles the horrors of fascist aggression. It is because Russia paid the heaviest price to resist that aggression that she urgently needs economic aid today. But Germany cannot meet that need. America alone can provide it. Furthermore, it is in our immediate self-interest to provide it. A stable Russia is vital to peace.

This loan certainly should be extended, not by itself, but as part of an over-all settlement whose terms would include all-out support of the United Nations and at least preliminary agreement in principle on atomic energy, disarmament, strategic areas, the control of Germany and the discouragement of political and ideological warfare, as far as possible, by both sides.

This program demands a spirit of farsighted courage among Americans: a full-blooded revival of the spirit that made America great.

AS LONG as prices are high and there are scarcities, Americans will ask: Why should we sacrifice anything for people in Europe or China?

There are two answers to this, beyond the overriding necessity of peace. First, the need of Europe is infinitely greater than our own, and we cannot claim that the war is over and fascism is defeated until that need is met. Second, surpluses will soon mount in America, prices will fall and unemployment will rise. To prevent this, we must either greatly increase the wages of labor or furnish purchasing power to countries overseas which need help most. I believe that labor will gain more in the long run by the second alternative.

At present income levels, the US has about $28 billion in savings which must find outlets in investment if national income is to be maintained. Our own economic stability requires that at least 20 percent of this sum be invested abroad. It will be more productive than any alternative use of the funds, *provided the investment is made for productive, and not for military or political, purposes.*

The two billion people of the world are crying out for roads, railroads, bridges, dams, tractors, plows, fertilizer plants, textile factories, steel mills, houses, rural electrification and all the numerous devices that have made life easier for Americans. Christ not only stated a great moral truth but a profound economic one when He said: "He that loseth his life . . . shall find it." A mature and powerful nation can save its life only by service to the whole world. A nation which attempts to accumulate great wealth in a world beset by famine will end by losing its wealth and peace. The cost of genuine peace will be high, but it will be far less than the cost of continuous spiritual warfare backed up by military adventures in every corner of the world. H. W.

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Le Parti Communiste

by David Schoenbrun

Despite the loss of five cabinet posts, the Communists remain the most explosive and powerful force in French politics

THE Communist Party of France has made a decision which may prove to be not only the turning point of postwar French politics but the beginning of a chain reaction in international affairs. In breaking with Premier Paul Ramadier's coalition government over the wage-freeze issue, France's most powerful political party forfeited five cabinet posts and moved into a position of open opposition for the first time since 1939.

The decision of the Communists was forced on them by developments of the past few months usually overlooked under the pressure of more dramatic matters. A wildcat strike at the nationalized Renault automobile works capped a growing current of labor unrest with a full-blown political crisis. By refusing to obey the Communist chiefs of the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), the strikers exploded one of the underlying assumptions of contemporary French politics. Most Frenchmen had accepted the axiom that the Communists controlled the CGT's five million workers and therefore held a noose around the neck of government.

Although control seemed to be regained this Monday, when the Renault strikers returned to work at the Communists' insistence, the unauthorized strike was a storm signal. Acutely aware that the national wage-freeze program was demanding ever increasing sacrifices which were alienating labor, the Communists abandoned all other considerations and split with the government.

For two months before the split, persistent rumors had reported disagreement within Communist Party ranks over the question of participation in or opposition to the coalition government. Much of the dispute was due to the growing pains natural for a party whose membership had shot up from 300,000 in 1939 to a million today, and whose vote increased from a million in 1936 to 5,475,955 in the last elections. Add to these internal aches and pains the external pressure being applied increasingly by followers of General de Gaulle and "little collaborationists," and the total points to very real trouble facing Western Europe's largest Communist Party.

That the Communist Party should be the first party in a great Western power is a phenomenon of considerable importance in international politics. If the Communist Party achieves its goal of economic, social and political revolution in France, the repercussions on neighboring European countries will be profound. The impact can be as shattering as that of the forces set in motion by the great French revolution of 1789, which undermined the foundations of Europe's feudal society.

Much of the secret of Communist Party success in postwar France lies in the personalities and backgrounds of its leaders. At the top of the hierarchy are the twelve men of the Bureau Politique—the Politburo—the "scientific Marxists" who direct the destinies of the party. The first four men of the Bureau Politique are the secretaries of the party, directed by secretary-general Maurice Thorez. Three of the four are veterans of more than 20 years of Communist activity, much of it underground, sometimes in prison, often abroad in the service of the Comintern. They are incredibly tough, absolutely ruthless, self-educated and self-made leaders who have risen from the lowest ranks and who take great pains to maintain contact with their origins. Therein resides a great part of their strength and popular following.

Bull-necked, bull-voiced, florid-faced Thorez worked in the Dourges pits in northern France at the age of 12. Son of a miner and grandson of a miner, he was born in the Pas-de-Calais Department in 1900 and 24 years later was elected to the Central Committee, highest court of the Communist hierarchy. Named secretary-general in 1930, he has held the number-one position ever since, with never a serious challenge to his leadership. As a member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International—the Comintern—he learned the principles and tactics of revolution in Moscow. Never once during the life of the International did he waver from the Marxist dictum: the first duty of every Communist is to protect the motherland of communism, the Soviet Union.

A legion of enemies

THOREZ is most frequently attacked in the press and in parliament itself for his "desertion" from the army and escape to Moscow, where he stayed during the war. These attacks did not prevent his becoming Vice Premier of France, nor do they appear to have weakened his hold on the miners, a major source of political power. Not even his worst enemies, and they are legion, deny that Thorez is the idol of thousands of French miners and that, in answer to his appeals, the miners made an almost superhuman effort which boosted coal production to more than 110 percent of prewar figures. To cold,

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hungry France this was a great achievement and it brought many non-Communist ballots into the Communist Party box.

"Mr. Five-by-Five"

NEXT to Thorez, the leading French Communist is Jacques Duclos, the party's first secretary in charge of propaganda. As French as *biftek et frites* and the possessor of a subtle Gallic intellect, Duclos is the only Communist leader in public life who is never attacked personally in any press and is perhaps the party's biggest vote-catcher from the "floating electorate." He probably owes his immunity to attack to his Resistance record.

When the Communist Party was outlawed after the outbreak of war in 1939, it went underground, under the leadership of Duclos. This tiny, ex-pastry cook, barely five feet high and irreverently called "Mr. Five-by-Five," could not easily disguise his almost unique frame. Consequently he was foredoomed to spend his underground life actually under the ground.

Duclos hid in a cellar in one of Paris' industrial suburbs, the famous Communist stronghold called the "Red belt around Paris." But a glandular disease threatened his heart with fatty suffocation. The cure: exercise. How to exercise in a seven-foot square "cave"? Duclos found an extraordinary answer. He had his stalwarts lug heavy blocks of wood down to his hide-out under cover of darkness. For long, painful hours Duclos sawed wood—and planned a campaign of sabotage and resistance.

If Duclos is personally popular in the party and respected outside of it, the very opposite is true of André Marty, a thoroughly disliked demagogue who is second secretary in charge of Marxist training and indoctrination. Marty is a hothead and is rude to everybody. His habit, at party rallies, of opening a newspaper as wide as possible and reading it throughout the speeches has not endeared him to his comrades, but his militant record and long international experience have elevated him to his present post.

At 61, Marty is a party senior with a lurid record as an internationalist. He first made headlines when he led a mutiny aboard his ship, which had been sent to the Black Sea after the Armistice of 1918, in the "war of intervention" in Russia. Sentenced to 20 years at hard labor, he was released in 1923 and joined the young Communist Party, which had been born during his imprisonment. Marty assisted in organizing the International Brigades in the Spanish civil war. He was a member of the Comintern Committee, was in Moscow when war broke out, made his way to North Africa after the Allied landings and was boosted to the secretariat in January, 1945.

Unmysterious dark horse

THOREZ, Duclos and Marty are the party's veteran trio of revolution. Newcomer to the top group, dark horse and "mystery man," is Léon Mauvais, 45-year-old third secretary in charge of party organization, whose name is virtually unknown outside the party. Actually there is nothing very mysterious about Mauvais. He misses the spotlight because of the nature of his duties, concentrating on internal party structure. In close contact with the rank and file, he is a man to reckon with in France.

Mauvais, who comes from the Argonne, began work at the age of 13 in a ballbearing factory in Ivry-sur-Seine. He made the Bureau Politique ranks in 1945 after a sensationally fast rise to power. He is young, respected in the party and is the only man now on the horizon, with the possible exceptions of Charles Tillon and Laurent Casanova, who is a good bet for future leadership to succeed Thorez and Duclos.

The leaders of the French Communists are motivated by frankly revolutionary aims. The theme of the ultimate revolution runs through all their party literature. I recently interviewed Duclos on this point.

"We are a revolutionary party," Duclos declared flatly, "not in the narrow sense of the word meaning seizure of power by force, but in the classic interpretation of the term: *we mean to substitute a socialist society for a capitalist society and that is our unchangeable goal.*" The Communists believe they can do this by electoral victories, by "legal," that is constitutional, process. This was one of the reasons for the "strategy of participation."

Lest there be any lingering doubts of their intentions and of the tactics they have designed to achieve this strategy, they have set it down in unmistakable language in a series of publications called *Elementary Course of the Communist Party,* on public sale. Pamphlet number three lays down the following "five-point permanent pro-

THOREZ

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gram of action" for all Communists.

1. *You cannot win with the avant-garde alone.* In 1871 the Commune was crushed because the men of Versailles isolated it from the peasantry. In October, 1917, the Russian Revolution triumphed, thanks to the alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry.

2. *Find the principal enemy and concentrate your efforts.* At present the principal enemies are the trusts and the political forces of reaction.

3. *Set yourself a limited goal which can be reached.* The preconditions necessary to a socialist state are not yet achieved. Work therefore toward the immediate objective: increased production for economic rehabilitation, democratic liberties and the unity of the working class.

4. *Find the people's sensitive point and exploit it.* At the present moment the public is principally concerned about high living costs. Communists must work for price reductions and must lead the masses in this popular demand.

5. *Experience is the best teacher of the masses.* The Communist Party must not rely on propaganda alone, but must orient the masses in action.

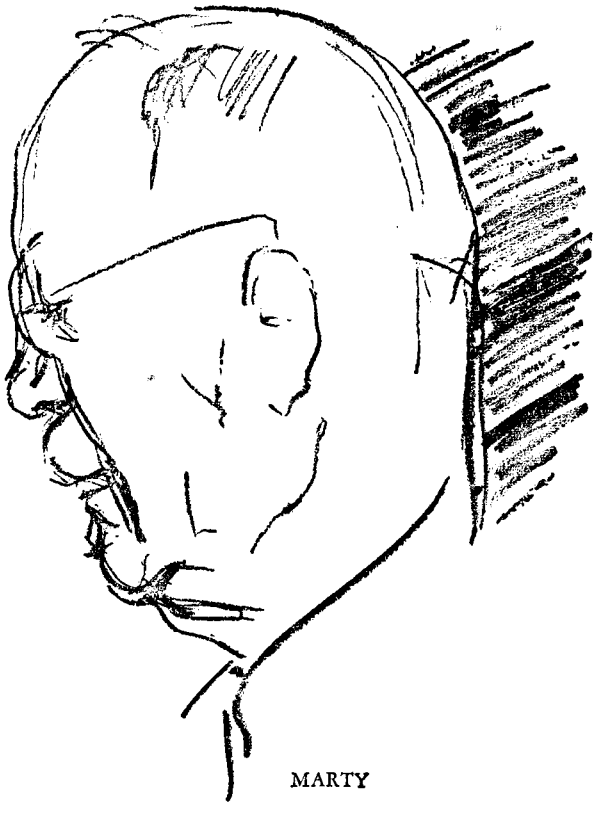
Despite these five frankly revolutionary commandments, the French Communists have succeeded in making their party as respected as it is hated by bourgeois circles both outside and within France. Its power rests on the best resistance record in the war, its leadership in postwar reconstruction and the most efficient internal organization of any political group. Add to this the main source of Communist power—its roots in the powerful working class—and you have a fair idea of why it commands 5.5 million votes and is considered the most dynamic force in Western Europe today, the one most necessary to watch and understand.

Its organization and internal discipline would be the envy of any American political boss. Its cardinal principle is called "democratic rule by the majority," but its application is surgical: the minority must bow to the majority or be mercilessly amputated.

This discipline is applied throughout the organization, from the lordly Central Committee to the lowly cell. The cell is the basic unit, composed of 10 to 20 party members. A *cellule* may be formed in a factory, in a commercial enterprise or just in a local neighborhood group. Cells meet once a week on the average, digest the policy sent down from above, study party literature and training courses, distribute leaflets and sell party newspapers.

The "section" directs the cells and coördinates their activities. In Paris,

DUCLOS



MARTY

Drawings by Ivan Opfer

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which is administratively divided into 20 *arrondissements,* or precincts, there are 20 "sections" of the Communist Party. Next in the hierarchy, and vitally important, are the "federations," one to each department of France. The federation directs public "agitation" and applies militant political strength in municipal and county affairs.

Court of highest appeal, fountainhead of power is the Central Committee, elected in party congress by about 1,000 delegates chosen by the federations. The Central Committee has 70 members. Too unwieldy to meet often on tactical problems, it operates through the Bureau Politique and its four-man Secretariat.

If discipline and tight organization are the sources of strength, they constitute at the same time a traditional weakness. A strong tendency toward sectarianism, xenophobia and doctrinaire reasoning runs through the party. This may not be true of a man like Duclos, but is certainly one of the major characteristics of large numbers of French Communists. Their use of banal phrases such as "the trusts" and "dollar imperialism" reflects a sterile thought process which might suit the leadership but is extremely unattractive to many *sympathisants,* particularly prominent intellectuals, who are frightened away by it.

War-chest tactics

A FASCINATING subject to explore is the methods of financing a political party. The French Communist Party raises money in three ways: by dues, by "kickbacks" and by public subscriptions. A Central Committee official gave me the following description of these methods, hitherto unpublished. Dues are graded according to the salary level of the member and fall into four categories of five, 10, 15 and 20 francs a month. If you take an average of 10 francs a head for one million members (this is actually a bit too high, for there is also a category of non-paying members), the yield comes to 10 million francs a month, or roughly $80,000.

The "kickback" system consists in taking a percentage of the salary paid to Communists in the government service. The theory is that a congressman owes his job to the party ticket and should not earn too much more than the worker whose vote made that ticket win at the polls. The party gives its congressmen 14,000 francs a month and keeps the remaining 16,000 francs of their pay; with 242 Communist Party congressmen, this kickback system nets the party an income of about $31,000 monthly.

The third method, fund-raising campaigns, is used as the need arises. The last Communist appeal for funds brought in 73 million francs, over a half-million dollars. Although my informant refrained from stating a figure, I estimate that the party "war chest" can count on anywhere from six to seven million dollars a year from its three sources of income.

Communists or Frenchmen first?

THE Achilles' heel of the French Communist Party is its foreign policy: its leaders are constantly defending themselves against accusations of Moscow domination, of being Communists first and Frenchmen second. The actual record shows entries on both sides of the ledger. At the time of the Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact, Communist policy was clearly motivated by Russian rather than purely French considerations. After 1941 the Communists took the lead in organizing national resistance. It is argued, however, that even this was in the interests of the Russians, desperately fighting the Nazi armies.

There is a school of thought that holds that when a red light is flashed in the Rue de Grenelle, where the Soviet Embassy is located, a horn buzzes at once in the Rue Peletier summoning Thorez, Duclos and all the little French "stooges" of Moscow. Then there is the theory of the anti-Communist MRP spokesmen who limit their accusations to the belief that the French Communists are influenced by Moscow but not dominated by it. The Socialists also criticize their Marxist confreres for too close a link to a foreign power.

The Communists and their fellow-travelers defend themselves with the argument that all students of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist methodology will naturally arrive at the same conclusion on every problem, due to the similarity of thought-process and mutuality of interests. French Communist accord with the Kremlin, the argument runs, is therefore due to compatibility, not to subservience.

When I asked Duclos if he cared to make a comment on this question, he answered: "Look at the record. We supported the Yugoslavs and the Russians on Trieste; ergo you will say we are kowtowing to the Kremlin. Yet my party was among the first to demand reparations from Germany, internationalization of the Ruhr, separation of the Saar, limiting the German level of industry, despite Russia's opposition to these French demands; ergo you should admit that we are independent and patriotic. In the end, despite the record, you will probably believe what you please, as all non-Communist foreigners do. I have no further comment."

The truth is probably somewhere between the two opposing theses. Where national interests, on which French voters feel strongly, are at stake, the Communists will follow a patriotic French policy. Any other course would be political suicide. On issues in which a strictly French interest is less clear, such as broad international political disputes, the Communists will follow the policy of the Soviet Union. Here they are motivated by the principle, "support the only socialist state in the world, the homeland of communism." On French empire questions, such as Algeria and Indo-China, the Communists follow a straight Marxist policy, favoring the colonial peoples against the French government.

A safe prophecy

WHETHER following Russian or strictly French policies, France's Communists are tenacious, tough and determined to suffer any hardship for final victory, which to them means creation of a socialist state in France. Their probable success or failure cannot be predicted now. One forecast can be safely made, however: the French Communists will never stop fighting until they either wear down their opposition or are knocked senseless themselves.

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Ilya Maximich Outdid Himself

by Alexander Kendrick

Without Dyemeshenko's autos, flowers, barmaids and doctors, the Moscow Conference might have been a dismal failure

WHEN the 500 delegates, advisers, bodyguards, correspondents, technicians, economists, interpreters, secretaries, clerks, stenographers and messengers to the Moscow Conference arrived at Belorussky railroad station or Vnukovo airport just before March 10, it was with a feeling of apprehension, uncertainty and bravado. When they left, seven weeks and vast quantities of caviar, *shashlik* and vodka later, their arms filled with tea cosies in the shape of *babushka* dolls, their pockets stuffed with *Palekh* boxes, Uzbek skullcaps, Caucasian belts, miniature chess sets and puppets, their bags bulging with Ukrainian blouses and the collected works of Marx, Lenin, Tolstoy and a Soviet historian named Wipper, their general feeling was one of satiety coupled with a bit of departure sadness.

For the conference visitors were Soviet Russia's first real postwar tourists and the seven weeks' operation of keeping them fed, bedded, healthy and supplied with postcards—now known to the history of international diplomacy as Operation Moskva—was the supreme test of the Soviet organization called Intourist. It was passed with flying colors by a mild-mannered individual by the name of Ilya Maximich Dyemeshenko, head of Intourist's foreign department.

Since 1936, when Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Rostov, Tiflis and Yalta buzzed with tourists (most of them American), Dyemeshenko hasn't been kept unduly busy finding bed and board for foreign correspondents, businessmen, trade-union delegates and the occasional poets who have made up Intourist's clientele. Operation Moskva was made to order for a customarily active man.

Ilya Maximich had his 500 charges all in the same hotel, the 15-story Moskva, with its individual color motif for each floor, its recommended view of the Kremlin and its dial phones in all rooms. Intourist took over the whole place, throwing the gargantuan dining room open all day and putting a double shift on the all-night bar. Things went so well that only about 20 cases of the fellow-traveler's complaint, Moscow tummy, were recorded, along with one Philadelphia finger bruised in a door, one sprained ankle and no more than one verified case of DT's.

This was far better than average for an international conference, especially when it is considered that one visitor who arrived with a broken leg threw away his crutches during his stay.

Ilya Maximich Dyemeshenko, rather than any of the four Foreign Ministers, was easily the most important figure of the conference. He knew when people were going to the Kremlin because he provided the cars. He knew when John Foster Dulles asked Secretary Marshall and the rest of our delegation to dinner because he furnished the food and presumably counted the silverware. He supplied the tickets for Marshall's two Sunday afternoon visits to the ballet as well as the flowers the Secretary of State sent up to 21-year-old Maya Plisetskaya after her adventures with the nutcracker prince and the sugarplum fairy.

Mustard-filled socks

ILYA MAXIMICH had a fleet of brand-new Soviet automobiles just out of the factory at his disposal, both the large ZIS-110, which looks like a Buick, and the smaller, beige-colored Pobeda, or victory model, which resembles a Pontiac. They were used not only for business purposes but also for taking weary delegates several times around the Kremlin, a 10-minute drive each time, when they wanted to relax.

Ilya Maximich also had a staff of doctors, most of them female, who cheerfully held the hands of ailing delegates. One of them emblazoned a page in medical history when she treated a

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visiting American's cold by filling his socks with dry mustard and telling him to walk up and down the hall of the Moskva's blue-colored floor. Her prescription worked—or at least the patient became so interested in what was happening to his feet that he stopped coughing.

Ilya Maximich supplied a coterie of waiters who enthusiastically brought forth an endless chain of *schnitzel, pilaf,* hothouse cucumbers, *blini* and *borscht.* The British ate constantly and heroically, as if it was their harvest which had failed last year, and the waiters smiled with socialist sympathy.

Then, Ilya Maximich had a bevy of barmaids as deft as they were personable. They were the custodians of an imposing list of Russian cocktails such as the International Friendship, Arctic, Northern and champagne cobbler, all of which seemed to have vodka and curaçao as their basic ingredients. Nor did they disguise the fact that the champagne cobbler is a reconverted peacetime version of the deadly *Katyusha.* Girls sold cigarettes named *Kazbek, Dynamo, Bogatyri, Sportive* and *Herzegovina,* refused to talk about the conference on the ground that they were apolitical, asked questions about American movie stars, and while they were proud of their fancy concoctions, they could understand a man's need for 100 grams of straight vodka quick. The girls weren't surprised by antics of their patrons, although on several occasions dining-room service was suspended while waiters leaned over the barroom balustrade fascinated by Englishmen walking on their hands, Americans wrestling and Frenchmen practising *savate* amid a terrible hubbub in four or five languages.

Clark takes off his shoes

WHATEVER happened at the Aviation Club or the Kremlin, the Moskva was the place the delegates always came back to—either bedraggled or cheerful, depending on what had gone on. At their meetings on the subject of Austria, for instance, General Mark Clark and Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Fedor Gusev were at such constant odds that Gusev finally became ill; Clark, for his part, would return from the meetings to the Moskva, lock the door of his fourth-floor suite, take off his shoes, sit a few minutes in frustration, and then he and his faithful shadow, a colonel named Francis H. Oxx, would simply bellow. The General was also sure that someone was trying to unman him for his morning meetings when twice in a row he was awakened by the telephone at 4 a.m. and heard a sweet voice speaking an unknown language. He refused to believe it was the wrong number, and saved himself and his country by taking the receiver off the hook and wrapping it in a towel.

Big men don't cry

LOUD offstage denunciation of the failure to negotiate an Austrian treaty, however, took place not in the Moskva but in the old National Hotel diagonally across the city's main intersection of Gorki Street and Hunters Row. There, in his cupid-decorated Victorian room, the sedate Austrian Foreign Minister Karl Gruber unabashedly burst out crying when he learned there would be no treaty at this session. He had made no secret of the fact that he was willing to agree to anything, including the broad Soviet definition of German assets in Austria, if only the four occupying powers would take their troops away.

Doctor Gruber sometimes wanted to know what kind of independence was being restored to Austria if the United States kept deciding that it knew better than the Austrians what was good for them, and he was not amused by General Clark's staunch advocacy of nationalization—something reckoned by others as an even taller peak of conference absurdity than the Iranian Ambassador's claim to nearly a billion dollars' reparations from Germany.

Gruber's direct antagonists, the Yugoslavs, did not cry. Tito's men were big and strapping. They introduced themselves at a press conference where they handed out *slivovitz* and two kilograms of handsomely embossed literature dealing with Carinthia, Styria and the Radgona triangle. They bowed out with a lavish reception to which came Soviet Marshal Budenny, Ulanova, the Soviet Union's leading ballerina, and Tarasova, star of Moscow Art Theatre, along with the principal literary and theatrical lights of Moscow. The Yugoslavs made their territorial and reparations requests to the Ministers, refused to listen to talk of anything less, and took the slow train for Belgrade still convinced they would get all they asked.

Truman and Juliet

DESPITE the star-studded nature of the Yugoslav reception, the only party of the conference to make social history was given by the Greek Ambassador, Athanasios Politis, to celebrate the anniversary of Greek independence. It was an ironical anniversary, for it turned out to be more a celebration of the Truman Doctrine than anything else. All four Foreign Ministers went to the special performance of the ballet, "Romeo and Juliet," that was given by Soviet hosts earlier in the evening (some said with malice aforethought), but only the American and British Ministers went to the Greek party—thus turning a social function into a political demonstration. Politis did so well by his 700 guests that several neutrals among them wondered audibly how much of the American loan to Greece would be left after the party was paid for.

Even Ilya Maximich Dyemeshenko would have been impressed by the copious quantities of roast young suckling pig, lobster, turkey, ham, champagne and pastry from a source which not only rivaled but threatened to outdo his own. The food was furnished by Burobin, another Soviet agency which takes care of the wants of diplomats and other resident foreigners in Moscow.

General Viktor Grosz, Poland's youthful foreign-office press chief, dropped into the Moskva in civvies for a fortnight when the boundary question was on the griddle and, fresh from his daily battle of wits with American correspondents in Warsaw, found the temporarily international local press extremely mild. He went away certain that Marshall had made no friends in Poland and had even lost a few by his border-revision proposal. Another Moskva visitor was Harold Stassen, fresh from a three weeks' Soviet tour and his interview with Stalin, but he kept his mouth discreetly shut about the con-

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ference and stole away after playing the violin better than Jack Benny at a correspondents' dinner party.

But at such an obviously serious conference, parties were few and restrained. The formal Soviet reception was matched in its size only by its austerity, while none of the three visiting delegations had much time, space or inclination for social life. Usually charming Frenchmen, masters of table conversation, refused to talk about anything but coal and the Saar, and when the din of the Moskva orchestra trying to play "Chattanooga Choo-Choo" had abated, Englishmen's voices could be heard arguing about the Truman Doctrine.

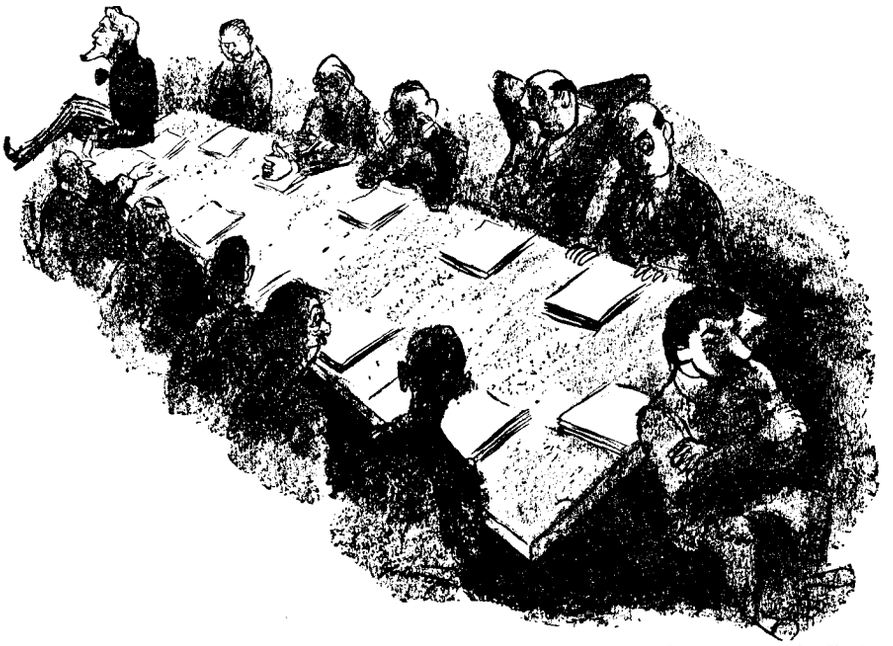
The French were extremely logical. They were unable to understand how the United States and Britain could favor the economic unification of Germany while at the same time insisting on political decentralization. They themselves frankly desired neither. The French were concise, cynical monomaniacs, and not even the three-power agreement on coal consoled them. Many of them rushed away to Paris when the voice of de Gaulle was heard again in their land.

Closed mind and mouth

WITH the halo of manifest destiny hanging over them and security regulations of military type in force, American delegates were most taciturn of all—a condition which made for progressively worsening press relations and for obvious unhappiness on the part of a usually voluble folk.

In addition to manifest destiny there was internal strain. Members of the delegation who came from military government in Germany—such as General Clay and Robert Murphy—seemed fretful and there was no doubt that the delegation was split on major questions. The MG group was primarily interested in the immediate challenge in Germany and believed that a solution of it would lead to better relationships all around the world, while the Washington policy-making group looked through the opposite end of the telescope and saw Germany as something extremely small.

The Americans who came from Germany believed that economic unity was worth practically any price. They advocated acceptance of Russia's request for reparations out of German current production and had figures to show that such reparations would cost the American taxpayer less than the maintenance of large occupation forces in a divided Germany for an indefinite period. But John Foster Dulles wasn't impressed by their figures or their thesis. The Republican leader came to the conference with both his mind and mouth closed. During the last few days he at least opened the latter. When General Clay was bundled off to Berlin by his superior officer, the crucial question became whether he would be summoned back—thus indicating that the military-government people still had a chance. Clay sent cigarettes to the correspondents, but he never returned.



Drawing by John Taylor

Behind the khaki curtain

MARSHALL himself was seen only three times during the conference by anyone save his closest associates. But reports trickled through the Spasso House khaki curtain of uniformed American constabulary brought from Berlin that he was still playing both factions against the middle. His minor compromise on the question of German current production was a sop to the military-government boys, but his refusal to bargain on peace terms and to open the door to the Ruhr more than balanced it. And the speech he made on his return home indicates that he has finally sided with Dulles and that a permanently divided Germany may be the result.

About the only issue on which the American delegation was not similarly split was Marshall's renewed offer of a four-power alliance to prevent German rearmament. But on the treaty, as on other more controversial items in the American brief for Germany, the vaunted policy of full public information was deliberately scuttled by all the generals. As it turned out, this calculated vagueness about America's position or intentions was an outright boon to the Dulles school of thought. Deprived of policy guidance such as British and French correspondents were getting, and in many cases unaware of the ambiguity within the American delegation, American newspapermen on the spot made interpretations based on instinct, and this instinct was predominantly anti-Soviet.

In contrast to the sometimes sensational and usually opinionated dispatches cabled from Moscow, the Soviet news agency Tass presented each day a straightforward chronological account of what was happening at the meetings, without interpretations, headlines or leads. Its foot slipped once or twice, but on the other hand, visiting correspondents on numerous occasions first learned from Tass of statements and developments which threw a completely new light on the proceedings as they had

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been presented by American, British or French briefing officers.

Soviet commentary, although naturally polemic, also stuck grimly to concrete issues and frequently called on important figures like the historian Eugene Tarlé, and the economist Eugene Varga, to probe beneath the surface. But by the time the joint translation service of the English-speaking embassies came up with such useful material, it was too late for visiting non-Russian-reading correspondents to do anything about it, even if they had wanted to.

In theory, war-battered Moscow was the ideal place for the initial conference on Germany, because there for the first time Western delegations had a chance to see in perspective the realistic and material basis for the Russian viewpoint on reparations and other questions. But Ilya Maximich Dyemeshenko probably did his job too well.

While he was serving *schnitzel, riga* beer and *zinandali* white wine in the Moskva hotel, the USSR was emerging determinedly from one of the hardest winters in its history and was girding itself for the supreme agricultural effort. It had started the spring sowing and was quietly instituting a minor social revolution by awarding its highest civilian decorations, with all their prerogatives, to ordinary farm workers. Given new incentives, returned soldiers and city dwellers were streaming back to villages and kolkhozes. Soviet industry was fulfilling its 1947 norms in good style, and striving earnestly to repair a badly damaged economy.

Drowned knowledge

THE conference delegates were never able to get beyond the toy making and monastery village of Zagorsk to see what was happening in the countryside where railroads were being built, oil wells dug, factories reconstructed and river transport increased—all against a background of wartime devastation.

Some of visiting correspondents went to Leningrad and Stalingrad, where nobody had to explain to them why Russia needed reparations, but then they came back to the Moskva, where the orchestra drowned out all that they had seen and heard.

Can Brains Be Stepped Up?

by Bruce Bliven

Rats learned 200 percent faster; retarded children increased IQ's eight to ten points in recent glutamic-acid experiments

THE SCIENCE of nutrition has made tremendous strides in recent years and even months. In an article in last week's *New Republic,* I reported on some of the current developments, many of which have resulted from laboratory work sponsored by the Nutrition Foundation, a private organization drawing its funds primarily from a large group of American business firms in all sections of the food industry. These developments point toward longer life, more abounding vitality, the conquest of pernicious anemia, lessened tooth decay, better health for pregnant women and babies, and a reduction in spontaneous abortion, stillbirth and many abnormalities among new-born infants.

In addition, we now know beyond reasonable doubt that among the several possible causes of low intelligence in infants can be a diet on the part of the expectant mother so gravely deficient in certain essential elements as to cause damage, or atrophy, or even destruction, of some of the cells of the brain in the foetus. This fact augments the interest of remarkable experiments conducted in recent years by Dr. Frederick T. Zimmerman, of Columbia University, and his associates, Dr. Bessie Bergemeister and Dr. Tracy Putnam, at the Neurological Institute in New York City. (This work, like several of the other things mentioned in this series of articles, is not included in the studies sponsored by the Nutrition Foundation; the following report is based on an article by Dr. Zimmerman several months ago in the *Archives of Neurology and Psychiatry.*)

As everyone knows, protein is one of the three important elements in diet, the other two being carbohydrates and fats. Protein is the most important source of nitrogen, and the body relies mainly on it for energy. In the human organism, animal and vegetable proteins are taken into the body, broken down through the action of enzymes into amino acids, and then reassembled from these into new types of proteins. Among the aminos one of the most important is glutamic acid; it is neither fat nor water-soluble, and is the only one of the aminos known to be metabolized—altered in its character—by brain tissue.

There is a theory, not yet wholly confirmed, that glutamic acid has a beneficial effect upon changes in the electrical potential of the brain cells such as take place during nerve activity; this acid increases the effectiveness of a substance, choline acetylase, which is able to synthesize another substance, acetylcholine, known to be useful in the functioning of the brain. Whether this hypothesis is correct or not, laboratory experiments carefully conducted over a period of years by Dr. Zimmerman and his colleagues seem beyond doubt to show heightened mental activity when massive doses of glutamic acid have been consumed.

The first experiments in this field were made with rats which had glutamic acid in specified amounts included in their diet over a period of time. The

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test of increased brain activity was the ability to learn a complicated maze—a standard and familiar laboratory test. In all cases, rats that had been fed glutamic acid solved the problem of the maze in substantially shorter times than was true of rats in a control group which had not been given this acid. Some were able to learn the maze in one-half the time. The ability to make correctly successive choices in the maze went up a maximum of more than 200 percent.

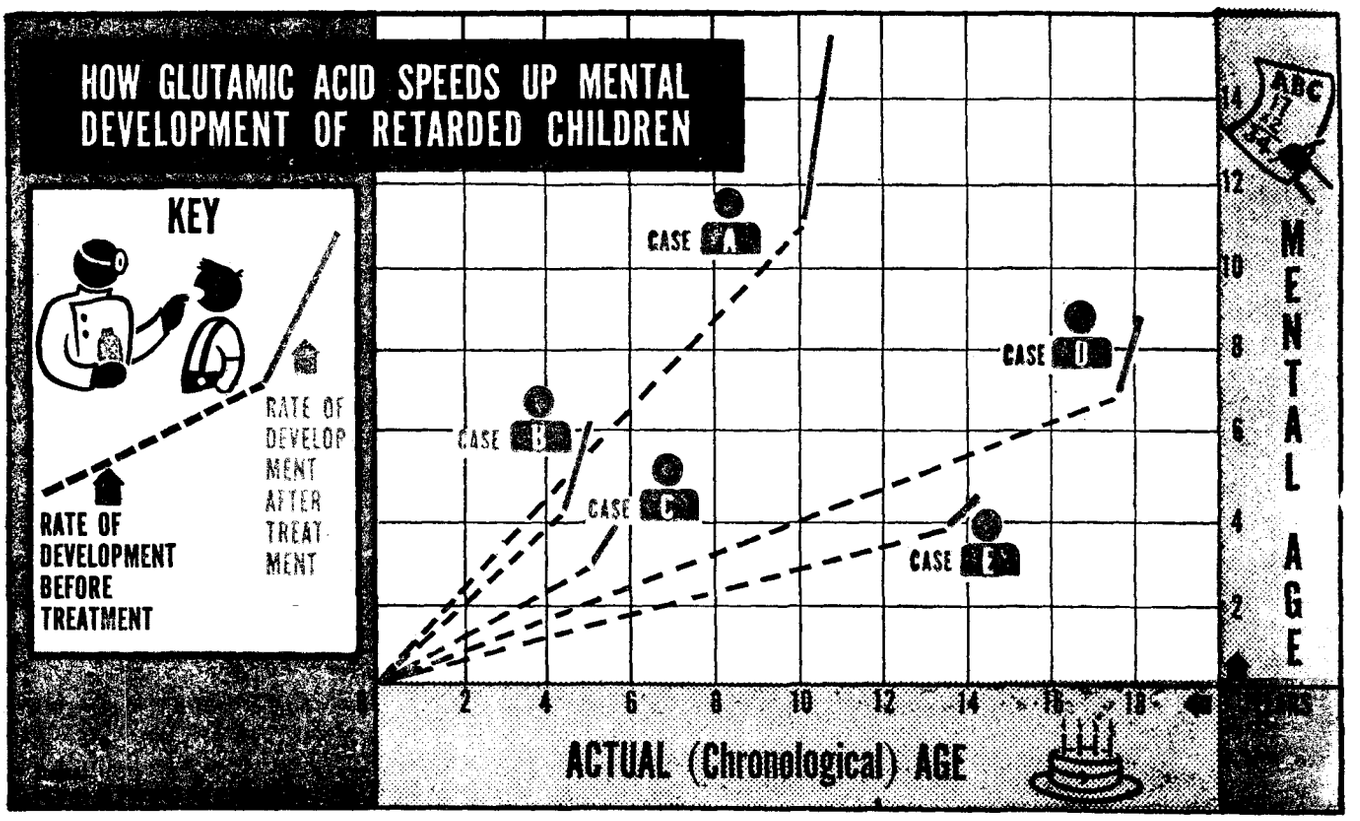
Since then, similar experiments have been conducted on a group of human beings, including children of various ages, some of whom were mentally retarded or suffered from convulsive disorders. Without raising the disputed question as to what constitutes intelligence, or whether the amount of it possessed by an individual can be altered substantially during his lifetime, it can be said that glutamic acid *increases the ability to act in intelligent ways*. The dose is gradually increased until a maximum is reached which gives definitely increased mental and physical activity without passing the border to excessive restlessness and excitability. Then the dose is maintained or reduced.

Dr. Zimmerman and his associates have been treating patients with glutamic acid for many months. It is their belief that the acceleration of mental processes must eventually come to a halt, but they are unable at present to say at what stage this takes place. Certainly it would be contrary to all biological law if a ceiling were not eventually reached. They also feel that the improved mental functioning will be maintained only so long as glutamic acid is administered, but this point, also, is not yet covered by their researches.

Glutamic acid and the IQ

INTELLIGENCE—and I use the word now only as a shorthand description of the ability to act in intelligent ways—is measured with reasonable accuracy for practical purposes, by various types of tests. These have been given in standardized form to millions of persons, and norms have been established for individuals at all ages. When any child is given these tests, the result is compared with the average for other children of his chronological age. If in intelligence he belongs at a higher or lower age level than his chronological age would indicate, the ratio between the two is the basis for his "intelligence quotient."

On this scale, the increase in mental activity among children who have been fed glutamic acid regularly and for a substantial period is remarkable; on the average, it amounts to eight or 10 points. If the IQ is substantially above 100, the effect is much less noticeable; but in the case of retarded children, those with IQ's far below 100, it is sometimes spectacular indeed. In certain instances, retarded children have increased their "mental ages"—their ability to perform more and more difficult tasks—at twice the rate expected of normal children during an equivalent length of time. After six months' dosage, one two-year-old child with a mental age of only eight months, or an IQ of 33, increased its mental age to one year and two months, which is the rate of progress to be expected from a normal child. A boy whose mental age was four years and three months, after six months' treatment was able to pass tests normal for an age of six years and four months. Some types of mental disease show progressive mental deterioration; glutamic-acid therapy appears to slow down or halt such deterioration. Children with convulsive disorders display improvement, and personality defects—so often associated with retarded mentality—are



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also ameliorated; such children get on better with their playmates, show improved memory and coördination, take a more active interest in the world about them.

Meeting the body's needs

DOES this mean that glutamic acid increases the intelligence? It is probably more accurate to say that it raises behavior standards up toward what nature intended to be normal. Experiments over decades and in many places, notably at the University of Iowa, have seemed to indicate some improvement in intelligent behavior among children whose general diet, and indeed their whole environment, was suddenly and markedly improved.

When glutamic acid is given, the number of brain cells is presumably not increased; what perhaps happens is that those cells which are inactive are made to function, or those which are sluggish are speeded up. Quite possibly glutamic acid—which, after all, is only a food—restores a chemical balance in the brain and body which was upset by poor nutrition on the part of the expectant mother, this condition perhaps being augmented by inadequate diet of the infant or child.

There are of course certain drugs which, when taken by adults, give a temporary heightening of mental powers, or an illusion that this is the case. There is no evidence, however, that the action of such drugs parallels what glutamic acid appears to do in the brain tissues. Moreover, since glutamic acid is a food, it can be given without any discernible ill effects, even to very young children. The caution should be uttered, though, that only one of several types of glutamic acid now commercially available can be used successfully in this therapy. I am suppressing its exact identification because, obviously, it should not be administered except by a physician with considerable experience and under carefully controlled conditions.

Studies should certainly be made of the average diet in the United States to see whether it is deficient in glutamic acid. We know that this amino occurs plentifully in soybeans and other legumes. It would be interesting to see comparisons made between the intelligence levels of large numbers of persons in parts of the world where these foods are eaten in important amounts, and other parts of the world where they are not.

Despite recent advances, the areas of our ignorance about food values are still enormous, as Dr. Charles G. King of the Nutrition Foundation pointed out in a recent address. There are 40 elements which are presumably valuable in nutrition, but only a few of these have been proved to be essential. Fifteen vitamins are known, and others may exist; of the 15, nine are demonstrated to be needed, and three others partially so. Of 23 known amino acids, only eight have been identified as necessary. Of the 43 or more fatty acids, there is no clear evidence of a human requirement for any of them. Three fat-soluble vitamins, however, are certainly essential. We know little of the carbohydrates, although they supply a great part of human and animal energy. Of the minerals we know the importance of sodium, calcium, phosphorus, magnesium, potassium, iron, copper, chlorine and iodine, but we are still ignorant about the exact use of zinc, manganese, cobalt, boron and fluorine.

The amino acids are useful in preparing people to withstand the shock of severe burns. Convalescence after certain types of illness is greatly helped by the use of these acids and by a high-calory, high-protein diet. Healing of wounds is benefited by massive doses of Vitamin C —five to ten times as much as is required to protect against scurvy. Anemia is associated with a lack of the very vitamins which are most damaged by food processing or by storage at room temperature. All these are suggestive lines of inquiry on which much more work needs to be done.

Nature v. civilization

TO A large degree, the present studies of the science of nutrition are an attempt to undo the damage mankind has unwittingly performed by the processes of civilization. When we slaughter an animal for food, we reject most of the glands and the viscera; the Eskimo eats the whole animal and gets larger quantities of important vitamins and minerals. Fruits, vegetables, cereals and roots, when eaten a few minutes or an hour or two after being picked, have a high vitamin content. Some precious elements are lost in techniques heretofore employed for storage, processing, dehydration and cooking, certain types of cooking being substantially worse than others. Nature intended man to wear little if any clothing and to obtain important amounts of Vitamin D from the action of the sun's rays on the skin of the whole body. We mine the fertility out of farm land and put it back—partially—with artificial and expensive fertilizer.

Today we are just on the threshold of a great new science covering the whole cycle of the production and preparation of food. We have learned, for example, that the quick-freezing process preserves most vitamins to a remarkable degree. Milk loses its precious Vitamin C rapidly when exposed to sunlight. Quick-frozen milk, however, holds its vitamins for as long as a year.

The science of nutrition

EXPERIMENTS in recent years with laboratory animals seems to suggest that there is some instinctive basis on which the animal seeks out foods containing the various elements his well-being requires. Thus a rat is fed a diet from which one of the vitamins or minerals is lacking, but not for a long enough time to cause death. If you then introduce into the rat's cage several dishes of food of which one contains this missing element, he will eat that food first, in a sufficiently high number of cases to suggest more than an accidental correlation.

It is not true, however, that savages have some innate wisdom which causes them to avoid the dietary errors into which civilized men have stumbled. For one thing, the savage has to eat what is available in his neighborhood at any given time; he has no facilities for transportation and few for storage. His chief advantage, in tropical and semi-tropical areas, comes from exposure of large areas of his skin to the sun, which builds up good quantities of Vitamin D. He also benefits by eating fresh-picked fruits and vegetables and, as in the case

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of the Eskimo, from eating more of the bodily organs of animals than does the finicky white man.

While it is true that cow's milk is intended by nature for calves and not for human beings, leading experts in the field of nutrition do not agree with the sharp criticisms of milk as a human food that have been heard of late. Taken in moderation, it is one of the important "preventive" foods, building body resistance, especially valuable for its high-quality protein, calcium and riboflavin. They do not believe that it causes high blood pressure, as has been charged. They drink it themselves—and so do their families.

The more we learn about vitamins and other nutrient elements, the more closely connected they seem to be. All the vitamins undoubtedly interact with other foodstuffs; they control the reconstruction, storage and "burning" of sugars, fats and proteins, and many aspects of mineral metabolism. When one of the vitamins is missing or in short supply, the body strives to reorganize its chemical balance. The endocrine glands—the glands of internal secretion—affect one another in the same way: in fact the whole cycle of hormones (gland secretions), enzymes (internal catalysts) and vitamins is closely knit. When there is an absence of iodine in the soil and therefore in the food drawn from that soil, the thyroid gland, fighting for its quota of iodine, enlarges in the effort to do its job better, and goiter is the result. (Nutritionists now recommend the use of iodized table salt in iodine-deficient areas.)

A New Clue to Cancer

RECENT experiments in the field of nutrition have brought to light new findings in regard to the possible causes of cancer. In experimental animals, the findings are very clearly established, but there is little information at present regarding the human problem. Work done by W. D. Salmon and D. H. Copeland at the Alabama Agricultural Experiment Station has thrown a startling light on the origin of at least one type of tumorous growth in standard laboratory rats. The vitamin, choline, occurs in meat, egg yolk, yeast, milk and some of the legumes, such as soybeans and peas. When choline is reduced substantially in the diet of laboratory animals, tumors of the liver and changes in the kidneys frequently develop. So powerful is this vitamin that some change occurs in the kidneys within *forty-eight hours* after the choline-deficient diet has begun.

Let me repeat: These experiments have been conducted with animals; there is as yet no proved connection with mankind. There is also no evidence that a choline-rich diet has any effect on a tumorous growth, once it has started.

Watch Your Weight

IT IS ironic that in the midst of a world which is starving, America should be forced to give so much attention to the problem of overweight; but it is true. Recent studies have put great emphasis on the increased danger of diseases of the heart and blood vessels, and diabetes, that is associated with excess fat.

A well known public official, who lived to an unusual age, took great pains to avoid getting fat, and once explained the reason to this writer. It was his duty to attend the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic, veterans of the Civil War, at a time when the average age of these veterans was 90 or more. He was struck by the fact that every one of them was lean and gaunt; obviously the fat men among their comrades were all dead.

Doctors nowadays lay heavy emphasis on the fact that excessive weight is nearly all psychological in origin. A real disfunctioning of the glands, such as lowered thyroid activity, occurs only once in hundreds of times. People overeat for many reasons, important among which are hidden anxieties, a feeling of insecurity, an effort to compensate for something in your life which you do not like. Assuming, however, that your psychological difficulty has been conquered, you still have the problem of getting your weight down to what it ought to be. On this point the nutrition experts are unanimous. *Don't employ any trick diet.* The way to reduce is to go on eating the same things, but in much smaller quantities. Plenty of people are in cemeteries today because they followed some fancy diet confined to only one or two items. Two pounds a week of reduction should be the maximum.

Synthetic Food

THE world's population continues to increase at a rapid rate. The Western industrialized nations are slowing down, for a variety of reasons, but this is not true of large parts of Asia and Africa, where Western sanitation is beginning to curtail the death rate before the inhibiting factors on the birth rate that follow industrialization have really taken hold. The world's population has increased a couple of hundred million since the last time you probably looked at the figures; it is now in the neighborhood of 2.2 billion instead of two billion (nobody knows exactly and the figures may be off a hundred million or so). The time is not far away when total world population will come dangerously near to outrunning total world food supply under present conditions. But present conditions of course won't persist. A group of special factors will come into play on both sides of the ledger.

In the United States, we need at least 3.5 acres of farm land per person per annum to maintain even our present diet, which is certainly not adequate by the standards of the nutrition experts. Europe has far less for her much lower level. On our present basis, this country could support a maximum of 160 million persons, a figure which we may expect to reach within the next quarter-century. But there are various things we can do about it. For instance:

¶ We need to consider, as our rations begin to run short, the respective usefulness of land employed for vegetable products or in raising animals for food. Other things being equal, vegetable products can sustain human beings on about one-seventh of the land required for animals for food purposes. On the other hand, some land available for pasturage is not suitable for the growth of edible plants. There is also the question of the respective health values of animal products as compared with those vegetable products which have been available heretofore.

¶ Fish farms, where fish are fed, largely

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from waste products, in pools, give an enormously high amount of human food per acre per year.

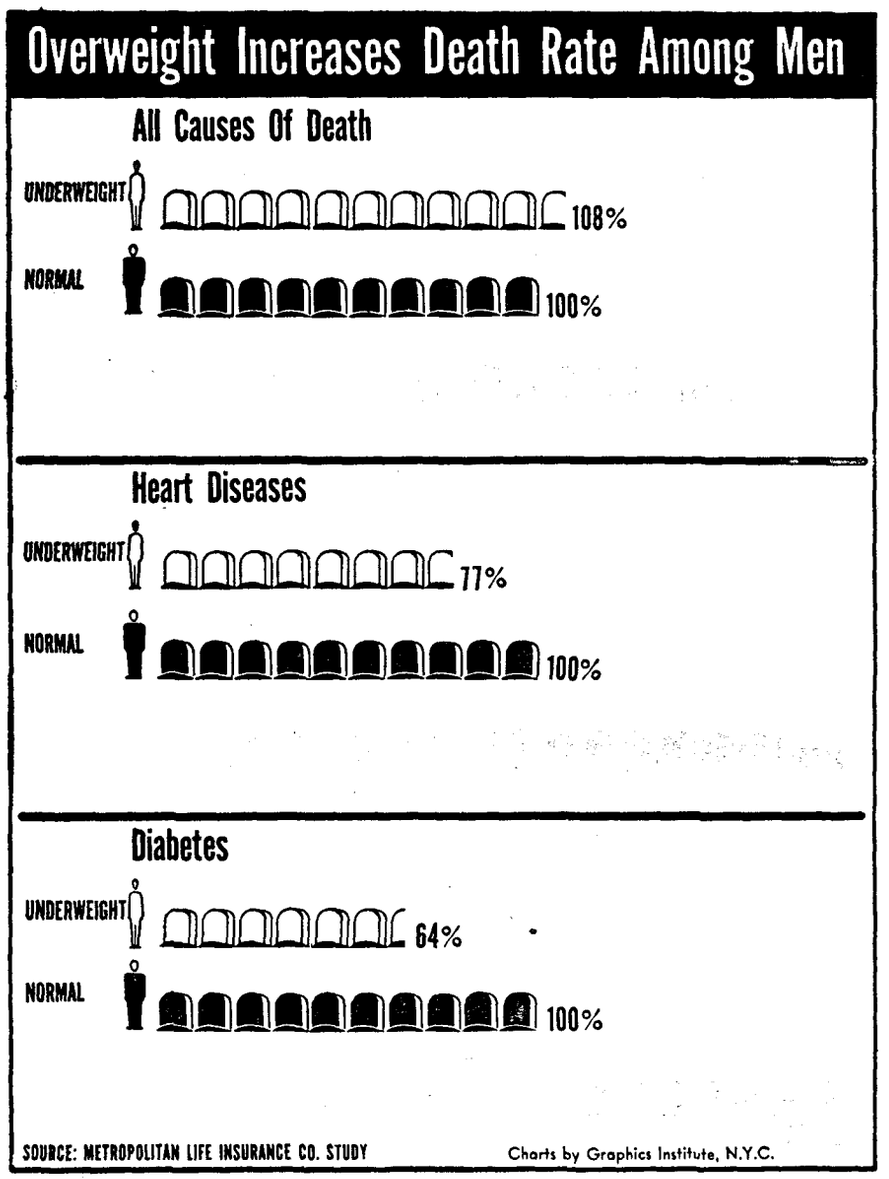
¶ There are incredible quantities of edible vegetation in the sea, either for human sustenance or to feed animals or fish.

¶ There are also vegetable products which can now be turned into food, never before available to human kind. Grass has a very high vitamin content. Sawdust can be made into food for both animals and men, and this was done in Germany before and during the Second World War. Dr. Robert S. Aries of the Northeastern Wood Utilization Council has reported on work done with a formerly wild strain of yeast, *torula utilis*. Wood is made into sugar and the sugar is used to breed yeast which consists largely of high-value protein. This can be fed directly to cattle as a protein concentrate or it can be refined for human food.

¶ The same tamed yeast, according to Dr. Elwin E. Harris of the US Forest Products Laboratory at Madison, Wisconsin, can be employed to produce synthetic alcohol. The yeast itself is not destroyed in the process and can be used over and over. A ton of wood, with the bark removed to eliminate poisonous byproducts, gives 64 gallons of 95-percent alcohol.

¶ Publicity has been given to experiments performed in the laboratories of the Monsanto Chemical Company in St. Louis, Missouri, in which various strains of yeast have been employed to turn out synthetic proteins of considerable nutritional value.

It is reasonable to suppose that if everyone lived according to the best advice the dietary experts are now prepared to give, the health of people even in the United States, their longevity, sense of well being, resistance to disease, the successful birth and raising of children, could be greatly increased. What the results would be in the rest of the world staggers the imagination: there are huge areas where the death rate is three times as high as it is with us and the infant death rate 10 to 15 times. One great barrier is ignorance, now rapidly being dispelled; another is poverty which, alas, is not being dispelled.



The toll of stupidity

I CAN imagine how grimly such an article as this must be read in those European countries where the daily calory allowance is far less than our own and where such precious foods as oranges, with their rich supplies of ascorbic acid, and cow's milk, with its calcium, riboflavin and protein, are unobtainable.

As I write, Congress is preparing to kill the free-school-lunch program in the United States, where millions have a family income of $1,000 or less. No matter how much you know, it is almost impossible on a $1,000 income to give the growing child the necessary quantities of Vitamins A and D, calcium, phosphorus, iron, thiamin, riboflavin, niacin and ascorbic acid. Scientific knowledge now available tells us those free school lunches might mean the difference between a sturdy and a sickly human being, might mean five years more or less of life.

In a world full of starvation, it is ironic to think that nearly all our troubles are of our own creation. The 1945 drought in the Southern Hemisphere, the 1947 drought around the Black Sea, need not have cost a single life if human beings had learned to cooperate instead of murdering each other in ideological war. Perhaps the new vistas the nutritionists are holding out may shame us into better behavior. Perhaps.

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Books in Review

Asia Inside Out

IF YOU WILL forgive an autobiographical moment, the last time this reviewer encountered Harold R. Isaacs, the author of *No Peace for Asia* (Macmillan, $3.50), in China was in the late fall of 1944. I was leaving Chungking the next day and had gone to pay my final respects to that great lady, Mme. Sun Yat-sen, and he was sitting with her when I arrived. Everything was amiable, cheerful and even a little gay, until we started talking about American politics and the state of the world. Isaacs had been home fairly recently and he began to tell us quietly and factually what he had seen. By the time we separated, Mme. Sun and I were so plunged in gloom that, when we said good-bye, one would have thought I was on my way to the gallows rather than back to New York. The memory came back to me vividly when I was reading *No Peace for Asia,* for it is an extremely gloomy book which marshals its facts and its ideas so impressively that it is difficult to escape its upsetting impact.

Although he may not be particularly well known to American readers, Harold Isaacs is recognized among specialists on Far Eastern affairs as one of the most skillful, thoughtful, informed and generally brilliant of them all; and he is certainly the most vigorous and forthright in his opinions. As *Newsweek's* wartime correspondent in China (he is now their special-projects editor), his dispatches were powerful enough and impressive enough to cause him to be barred by the Kuomintang dictatorship and to stand high on the honor roll of Ambassador Patrick J. Hurley's hate list. His major work, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution,* with an introduction by Leon Trotsky, is the definitive history from the point of view of the extreme anti-Stalin radicals of the split between Chiang Kai-shek and the Communists of both China and Russia, and it has exerted an undoubted influence over all factions in the political turmoil of contemporary China.

It is wise to keep in mind the author's background and intellectual bent when reading *No Peace for Asia,* but it is equally wise not to fall into any misconceptions because of them. Make no mistake about it: this is an important and stimulating book, factually rigorous, carefully reasoned, brilliantly presented and containing a hard core of intelligence that is decidedly worth the attention and respect of any serious reader. Isaacs is no mere doctrinaire Trotskyite, no violent, emotional firebrand. He is an exceptionally thoughtful and intelligent man, coldly logical and careful of his facts, and if his book is violent and bitter, it is not out of any kind of hysteria in manner and emotion, but from a keen intellectual conviction that in the awakening and embittered East lies the future of world disaster. If you disagree with him, as I happen to on a number of points, you must do so on the basis of some highly unassailable facts which he has assembled, and the exercise will be a sharpening and profitable one.

AMONG his many virtues, Isaacs is an able reporter; his account of the postwar ferment in China, Korea, India, Indonesia, Indo-China and Japan is brilliantly and outspokenly handled. So is his angry report on the varying Oriental roles of the United States, Russia, Britain, Holland and France. He is a man who has far more dislikes than enthusiasms and, indeed, almost his only strong approval seems to go to the struggling young Viet Nam Republic in Indo-China and its leader, Ho Chi-minh. (Part of the section on the Viet Nam appeared in the *New Republic* for February 3.) In his hatreds he is almost equally bitter about the expanding imperialisms of the USSR and the US, and the contracting ones of the British, the Dutch and the French; about the Kuomintang and the Communists in China; the stalemate between Russia and America in Korea; MacArthur's propping-up of the old prewar forces in Japan; and the Soviet opposition to world revolution. But with all his indignation, he does not sound like a common scold because his indictments are well documented.

WITH THE rapid and highly organized growth of anti-Russian propaganda in this country, Isaacs' conviction about the Stalinist betrayal of the revolution is particularly interesting. To call the government of the USSR socialism, he believes, "is like calling the Inquisition Christianity," and he feels that the example of Russia "does not prove anything about socialism at all except that it cannot be built in a single country, especially a huge, backward country."

The basis of his indictment of the Soviet part in the Chinese Revolution is his belief that Stalin, by helping to rebuild Sun Yat-sen's Kuomintang Party when it was moribund and continuing to back it in 1926-27, while forcing the Chinese Communists to support the Nationalist rather than the socialist cause, brought about the destruction of Chinese communism and the triumph of the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship. In Viet Nam, the USSR, in the interest of world politics, has likewise failed to support the cause of liberation. Everywhere, he believes, the Russians have betrayed socialist internationalism in the interest of their national state. Although it seems to me that Stalin's policy of national strength and security and "socialism in one country" has been justified by the course of history, there would appear to be no denying the author's contention that this policy has had a devastating effect on world revolution. This, however, by no means placates the more ardent Russia-haters, who want to get the Soviet Union going and coming, and acted characteristically when they first assailed the Soviet forces in Manchuria for not withdrawing and then con-

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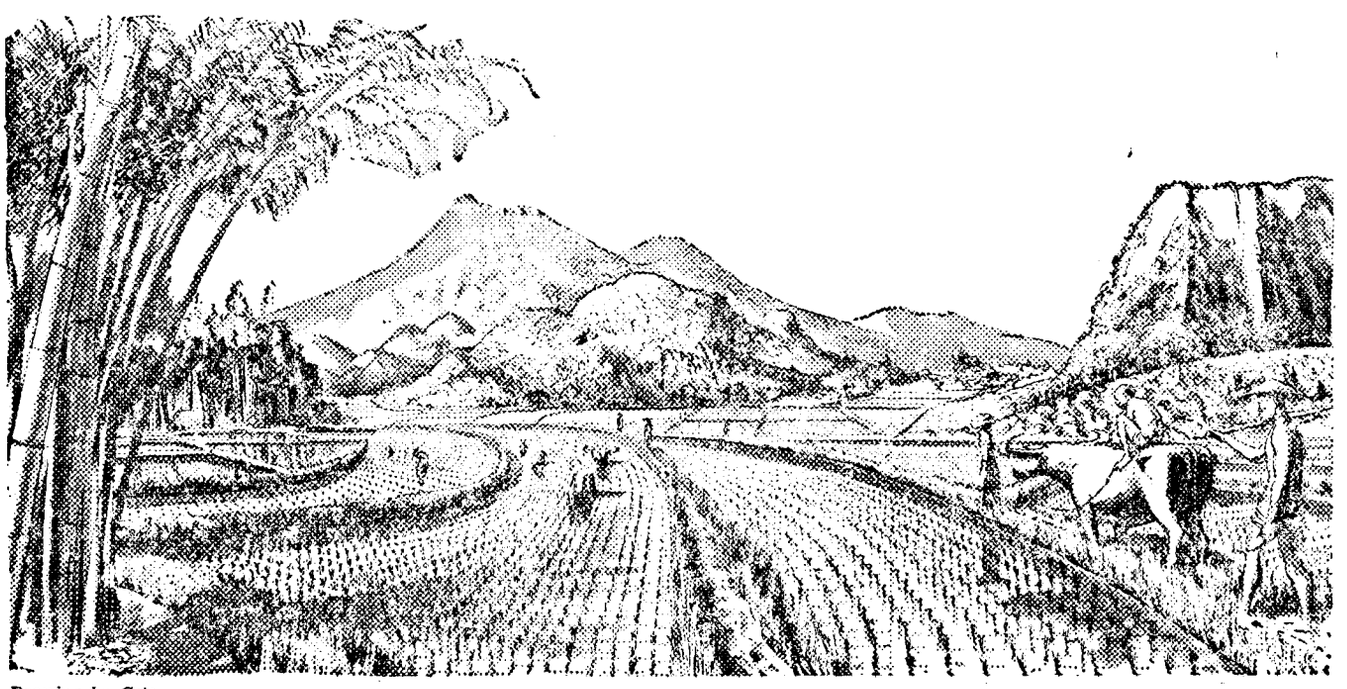
demned them for treachery to Chiang when they did withdraw.

Of recent years some hard words have been said by American writers of the Chinese Generalissimo, but he has rarely been so vigorously and roundly attacked as he is by Harold Isaacs. Quoting Chiang as saying in 1926 that "we cannot deny that the Chinese Revolution is part of the world revolution" and that "realization of the Three People's Principles means the realization of communism," he tells once more how the Kuomintang leader, after the Shanghai workers had seized the city for him in 1927, turned on them and their Communist leaders and, setting his Shanghai gangster friends on the workers, had them massacred by the hundreds. The Chiang of his portrait is a brutal and conscienceless destroyer and betrayer, without scruples or honest convictions, who,, among other things, joined the other members of his family by marriage in enriching themselves by preying upon the Chinese people. He will not even give Chiang the credit of refusing to sell out his country to Japan. He shows him as, first, driven unwillingly into the war against the aggressor by popular insistence, when he really just wanted to go on appeasing the Japanese and fighting the Communists in his own land, and, later, sticking to his American allies only because he was shrewd enough to know that ours would be the winning side. Isaacs has no violent enthusiasm for the Chinese Communists, but he certainly prefers them to the Kuomintang.

ISAACS' account of the Viet Nam revolt against the return of corrupt French imperial rule in Indo-China offers the freshest material, because the author was one of the few correspondents actually on the spot and his sympathy for the Viet Nam leaders is a lively one. His report on the Indonesian independence movement in the Netherlands Indies and his skeptical survey of the current state of India are likewise vivid and little calculated to make one feel comfortable about the dark twilight of European imperialism, but to an American the book's chapters on Korea and Japan are of more immediate value and of a more chastening interest. As Isaacs points out, there is something ironic in the fact that the Americans are apparently ready to give the once hostile Japanese more relative freedom, self-government and independence than we are willing to concede to the friendly Koreans. MacArthur, he is convinced, is bent on leaving the Japanese social structure essentially intact, and, after getting rid of a few of the more obviously sinister members of the old regime, seeing that as much as possible of a feudal status quo is dutifully protected. It is difficult to get around the impression that Japan is being looked upon more as a staging base for a possible conflict with Russia than as the scene of genuine, thoroughgoing social reforms. In Korea both we and the Russians are clearly more concerned with jockeying for tactical position than with the hopes of the Korean people, and, while the Soviet authorities have been recalcitrant and hard to deal with, we have shown our usual talent for supporting all the reactionary and undemocratic elements in the unhappy country.

FROM HIS survey it appears that Isaacs sees little difference between the dangers inherent in the game of power politics as played by Russia in brutal, truculent fashion or by the United States amid our rapt support of the dubious past, wherever we find it. Using all the logic of One World, he argues that ours is "a mortally sick society," that "what we are witnessing is the extinction of the national state as an instrument of national economy" and that it has been proved that "the world itself was the minimum unit of necessary change." Unless a new and genuinely revolutionary kind of international society, of the kind that the Russian Revolution hinted at in 1917, is organized, he is sure that the conflicting interests and struggles for



Drawing by Getz

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power in the chaotic and reborn East will result in war. The old imperialism of the West may be dying, but the new imperialism of Russia and America is far more dangerous to the peace of the world. Even those who may feel that in the end the Isaacs indictment is too complete and unrelieved, too lacking in recognition of the occasional bright spots, will have difficulty in denying the major part of his grim diagnosis, and they will assuredly appreciate the melancholy effect that the author had on this reviewer's Chungking farewell. The important thing is that, agree with Isaacs or not, you will find *No Peace for Asia* an exceptionally stimulating and challenging work.

Compared to it, Ralph Coniston's *The Future of Freedom in the Orient* (Norton, $3) seems mild and superficial in its contemplation of the aftermath of Japanese defeat and nationalist resurgence in the colonial East. It is, however, a modestly intelligent book in its own right, and it has value in emphasizing the difficulties faced by the nationalist leaders following the collapse of the older imperialisms and of indicating again the unanimity with which liberal American observers are coming to recognize the bankruptcy of our policy of supporting reaction in China.

RICHARD WATTS JR.

Literature and the Western Colleges

Letter from California

NO DOUBT the most significant literary fact about California is that it is a place where good writers disappear: either to talk about scenarios at a thousand dollars a week in Hollywood or to contemplate libido under the aspect of eternity in the philosophical suburbs. "Honi soit qui Malibu" was one of F. Scott Fitzgerald's happier jottings. According to Mildred Brady (in a very snobbish *Harper's* article for April), the disciples of Henry Miller, William Reich, *et al.* are establishing anarchic Bohemias in San Francisco, Berkeley and in the vicinity of Big Sur; her article implies a numerical strength and a local awareness which simply do not exist. To discover whether any good writing comes *from* California one must turn, curiously enough, to the colleges and universities. There are exceptions, of course; Jessamyn West's stories come from Napa. And the orange ranch of Howard and Dorothy Baker (where the former is now revising a remarkable play for Negro actors) is a tiny oasis in the sun-drenched and inhuman Central Valley. But even the Bakers carry between them the burden of five academic degrees.

THE fact is not peculiar to California. Throughout the country, universities are now assuming some of the Socratic functions of the old "little magazines." At Stanford alone six student writers, most of whom have published stories and are finishing novels, have attracted the attention of Eastern publishers: Eugene Burdick, Oliver Lawrence, Julieta Del Castillo, Andrew Glaze, Boris Ilyin and Jean Byers. George Stewart, Mark Schorer and Josephine Miles direct writing groups at the University of California; Wallace Stegner and Yvor Winters at Stanford. Schorer, Stegner and Stewart are now working on new novels; in the last months Schorer has published his *William Blake* and *The State of Mind* (stories) and Winters his *Edwin Arlington Robinson* and *In Defense of Reason*. Robert Cleland of the Huntington Library is collaborating with Oscar Lewis in a valuable series of Western Americana. And William Irvine's study of Bernard Shaw (which will benefit by the subject's detailed annotations) is only one of several critical works under way.

Remoteness from the center of publishing may be something of a handicap, to the non-experimental writer at least, whether he is in a college or not. Even a good novelist can benefit from Madison Avenue conferences; and a revisable first novel has less chance of acceptance when its author is 3,000 miles away. Should we see an illustration of the California writer's plight in the fact that Horace McCoy and the late Nathanael West, still virtually unknown in this country, occupy very high places in the smoky pantheons of the Boulevard St. Germain? It would perhaps be fairer to attribute their success to the intense French interest in the more violent dislocations of American society. But this does not hold true for the quiet and eminently civilized Janet Lewis, whose residence at Stanford has neither helped nor hurt the success of her books abroad but has very probably retarded their success in the United States, where publicity is so important.

The facts are fairly startling; and if my judgment is suspect on grounds of friendship, Miss Lewis' sales record abroad is not. *The Trial of Sören Qvist* may have added a few thousand readers to her still small American public, although the reviewers have done Miss Lewis the disservice of calling her a great prose stylist. But it took Canada to select this remarkable novel for Book-of-the-Month Club distribution. Her best earlier novel, *The Wife of Martin Guerre* (which I feel sure will some day take its place as a classic of American fiction), has been published twice in France: as the leading item in the *Revue de Paris* and later in book form. But this novel (first published by the San Francisco Colt Press in a limited edition and more recently in the Alan Swallow anthology, *Anchor in the Sea*) has yet to be published separately in a trade edition in the United States.

OSCAR LEWIS (in the new *Pacific Spectator*) looks forward hopefully to Western book publishing on a large scale, but that still seems far off in this hour of publishing recession. Meanwhile, California writers have welcomed Doubleday's establishment of editorial offices in San Francisco; they hope others will follow. At least four publishers have editorial representatives on the West Coast. But there has always been a more complex handicap than geographical remoteness for the Western writer—his moral isolation in a community which tolerated marginal lunacy but frowned on less obvious divergence. The Gidean "demoralizer," that indispensable leaven in any society, must still occasionally fear the outraged optimism of the intellectual vigilante. I have no great liking for the work of Henry Miller and his disciples, but I find Mrs. Brady's article ("The New Cult of Sex and Anarchy") a distasteful example of smear tactics. Its witty prose ridicules not only the speculations

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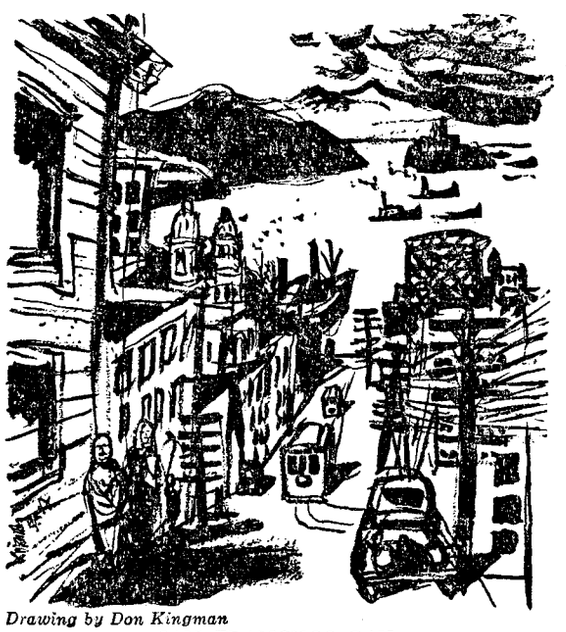
of the new "Bohemians," but also the fact that they are poor and that they meet together to read poetry aloud. They are the new Okies; their unheated shacks clutter up the landscape. They are passionately devoted to their doctrines. Does not this make them as ridiculous, in their way, as existentialists and other excitable Frenchmen?

Anti-intellectualism and hostility to the new (and so, inevitably, the "difficult") is not peculiar to California. A new magazine, the *Pacific Spectator*, frankly seeks to break down the barriers between the scholar, the "lay intellectual" and the literate average man. It is—and this is, I think, a very real innovation in general magazine publication—a coöperative venture among twenty Coast colleges. It is a handsome quarterly standing somewhere between the *American Scholar* and the *Virginia Quarterly Review*, a little less academic than the first, a little less regional than the latter. If one or two of the articles have a touch of Mrs. Brady's snobbishness, others show that even the findings of research—from research in the Columbus legend (Francis Johnson) to research in the legend of Joe Hill (Stegner)—can be made highly readable.

THE place of the university in the literary life of the West has been further underlined by the announcement of Stanford's new "Writing Center" under the direction of Wallace Stegner. Like several Midwestern universities, Stanford offers attractive prizes for student writing: $500 each for the best novel, play, short story and poem. But the largest part of the money available has been wisely set aside for fellowships: six grants of $2,000 will be made each year to promising young writers. They will come to Stanford, assured of at least a year's freedom from commercial pressures. Like the Nieman Fellows at Harvard, they will have all the resources of the university at their disposal, as well as the guidance of Stegner, Winters and other writer teachers. This year the university is publishing, no doubt at a loss, an anthology of student stories, another venture worthy of imitation. But most important of all, the young writers will find themselves in a community which already has flourishing schools in the drama, music and painting and which has committed itself, formally at least, to an attitude of respect toward the arts.

Stanford's "Writing Center" promises, thanks to a very large gift, to be the most important program of its kind anywhere. But similar groups are being formed in colleges throughout the country. Will a new generation of American writers be corrupted by an excessively academic study of literature? The greater danger lies in the possibility that a few commercial hacks may find their way onto college faculties. I can imagine nothing more demoralizing than a writing program divorced from the humane aims of the university as a whole and devoted to teaching a few shoddy tricks of the trade. The half-literate poet or novelist who considers the critical study of literature impertinent and is himself ignorant of everything written before 1920 can be as harmful as any other charlatan. The college writing program should not be a peripheral and decorative luxury, but a very real part of the only cultural community which the country still possesses. American writers have produced a great deal of importance in this century. But they have done so *in spite of* an ever threatening loneliness and of an often vast ignorance of the great writers of the past, even the immediate past. ALBERT GUÉRARD JR.



Drawing by Don Kingman
SAN FRANCISCO BAY

Albert Guérard Jr. is the author of The Past Must Alter, The Hunted *and* Maquisard: A Christmas Tale. *Before the war he taught English at Harvard and now, after having served in the Army, is writing in California.*

The German Film

THIS REMARKABLE book (*From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*, by Siegfried Kracauer, Princeton, $5), though described by its author as a psychological history of the German film, is in fact much more than that. Written by a man who is at once an authority on the social and economic structures of the German middle classes and on the German cinema, it analyzes those tendencies which, from 1920 to 1933, ended in the rule of Hitler. Starting from the premise that "the films of a nation are fully understandable only in relation to the actual psychological pattern of this nation," he also approaches movies as a psychoanalyst approaches dreams, and uses them as a key to the interpretation of a psychosis. That motion pictures are indeed a kind of collective dream, that they betray infinitely more about their collective originators than is visible or audible on the surface is no longer a new idea: but this is the first time that a sober and protracted study of human behavior has been carried out by the light of the screen.

After briefly recounting the development of the motion picture in Germany before 1915, Dr. Kracauer takes up its subsequent history from the time "The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari" startled a world by no means entirely prepared to accept movies as esthetically original or important. He traces the progress of German films and refreshes our recollections of them through the period of innovations such as the traveling camera so effectively used in "The Last Laugh," the frowning sets of "Siegfried," the somber and evocative lighting of "Warning Shadows," the morbidity of

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"M" and scores of other pictures which fascinated and repelled an increasingly screen-conscious generation by their preoccupation with robots and with the supernatural, night, monsters, hallucination, the underworld, and by the new techniques or adaptations of techniques which were utilized to express moods and states of mind rather than, as in the American film, actions and events.

As a survey of cinema history, this study is full and often brilliantly illuminating; but it is as a searchlight on a recent and peculiarly horrible phase of human history that it is most arresting. And I do not think there is much question that those who recall the great German films or, still more, those who have had the opportunity to see them again recently, will reject Dr. Kracauer's comments upon or interpretations of them. In particular, he points out the prevalence on the German screen of "tyrant figures," from the sinister and shambling Caligari, through his predecessor Homunculus, the later criminal Dr. Mabuse and the cold industrialist in "Metropolis." At the same time, he stresses the frequency with which dual roles are played by heroes in German films, and suggests that this betrays the innate discrepancy which existed in Germany between "theory and practice, thinking and living." The chaotic element into which so many of the most striking scenes in these films seem to dissolve, the curious helplessness and frustration which characterize so many of their heroes—heroes so typically middle-class and so often depicted as romantic middle-aged men —these constants, too, are pointed out and linked with the behavior pattern of the great middle class which was by its very nature predisposed to the kind of system which Hitler offered them, despite the fact that the system brought them further paralysis and final death.

PROBABLY only a German could have written this book, and I doubt whether it could have been achieved by any other than a close student of contemporary German history. Despite certain naïvetés, it affords an original scrutiny of the most powerful medium for the dissemination of ideas which has yet been invented, and discloses, as has been shown nowhere else so clearly, the strange symbiosis which links film and society—each nourishing and affecting the other. It omits more than a brief reference to the effect of German films outside Germany, a topic possibly worth consideration elsewhere: for it was these films which, during the twenties, influenced many intellectuals to believe that a country capable of producing such highly original works was somehow incapable of being so evil as, from 1914 to 1918, we had been taught the Germans were.

To adapt an adage, *From Caligari to Hitler* states emphatically: "Show me your films, and I will tell you what you are." This statement has not been widely accepted as yet, and indeed it is a challenging one, especially were we to consider inquiring what the current Hollywood films will seem, to a future analyst, to betray about our own present national state of being. But to return to the practical and the immediate, at the very least this original and sometimes dazzling work of Dr. Kracauer's offers an untried and seemingly useful key to a practical and immediate matter —a diagnosis of the recent German sickness, as a means to its ultimate cure.

IRIS BARRY

Iris Barry, director of the Museum of Modern Art's Film Library, is the author of Let's Go to the Movies, D. W. Griffith: American Film Master *and the editor and translator of* The History of Motion Pictures, *by Bardèche and Brasillac.*

Courtesy Duell, Sloan and Pearce *Drawing by Howard Brodie*

From Yank: The GI Story of the War, *by the staff of* Yank, the Army Weekly.

A compilation of photographs, drawings and reporting of the war selected from the pages of the soldiers' magazine by Debs Myers, Jonathan Kilbourn and Richard Harrity. The book is an unsparing chronicle of the war by the men who fought it.

Among the authors included are Debs Myers, Ralph G. Martin, Walter Bernstein, Joe McCarthy, Allan B. Ecker, Dale Kramer, Mack Morriss, Merle Miller, Ozzie St. George, H. N. Oliphant, George Baker (creator of Sad Sack), Ray Duncan, Harry Sions and Hilary Lyons.

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United Nations News

Man with a Metaphor

THERE is a question in the minds of some General Assembly delegates about the motives and aims of His Excellency M. Asaf Ali. India's first ambassador to the United States and chief of the Indian delegation to the Palestine Assembly is a slight, white-haired man of 59 with delicate hands, a long cigarette holder and an overpowering oratorical talent. Some think he has consciously confused Assembly procedure by demanding a full hearing for all Arab and Jewish groups in Palestine—not only the official groups, but any splinter group that happens along. Others believe that he is honestly interested in acting as "a bridge between the Arabs and Jews."

Asaf Ali himself considers his position quite clear. He recognizes it as a minority position—he has been even more adamant about hearing all groups than have the Russians—but never mind, "I have often plied my lonely furrow," is his metaphorical explanation, "and I am now plying it in the direction where nations must go: toward the burial of the hatchet." Meanwhile he bombards the Assembly with his own special mixture of facts and philosophy:

"To say a religion [specifically the Jewish religion] can convert a people into a nation is most difficult. A nation is composed of many religions and many races. . . . The weakness of the Jews is that they rely too much on one or another power for political purposes. Let us not make Palestine a pawn that can be used by these powers for their own ends."

At the same time, Asaf Ali nods politely to the Saudi Arabian delegate and admits that his country, like Russia, is caught between economic alliances with the Arabs and humanitarian sympathy for the Jews. India's large Moslem population is pro-Arab, and Asaf Ali, a Moslem member of the Congress Party, realizes that his government may eventually be forced to abandon its present impartial stand on Palestine. "In that case, of course, I become the tool of my government—but it is always with a sense of doing my stern duty that I follow instructions with which I differ personally." Somewhat precariously, he goes on to illustrate his own position by an allusion to the motorist who, in an effort to avoid going off the road on either side, sticks to the crown. "That's not good?" he asks in amazement. "Well, it's not so bad on a three-lane road."

Asaf Ali admits to having no liaison with particular delegations. "Liaison," he says with a wise smile, "takes you to the fringe, an interesting place. But contact places you right in the heart of the universe with the promise of perpetuity [nature wants perpetuity]. This contact must follow liaison of course, because it must not be precipitated." He pauses then and adds, "Isn't that a perfect example of diplomatic language?"

LAWYER, writer, veteran of seven years as a political prisoner and self-styled "student of the universe," Asaf Ali defies political labels. He has been associated with Gandhi since just after World War I, but has disagreed with him frequently and vociferously—especially on the policy of "non-coöperation."

"Political labels," as he puts it, "are a limitation. I have always been one who pushes his way across the frontiers. I like to be just an inch or two ahead of the last outpost, but I don't like to go by jumping; I like to cover all the ground. Until I do, I don't think I have the right end of the stick."

Partly because of India's proximity to Palestine, partly because of personality alone, Asaf Ali emerges as one of the Assembly's most colorful figures. He has acted in the capacity of delegate from India, president pro tempore of the Assembly and chairman of the Steering Committee. His belief in the United Nations is boundless and he is not disturbed by talk of ideological conflicts.

"Ideologies are a passing phase of human intelligence and we aren't even adolescent yet. The United Nations is our only hope. I have never been a pacifist in the sense that I wouldn't fight. But I do want humanity to work its way out of the unfortunate legacy of the past and neutralize this method of deciding international issues by the arbitrament of the sword."

NEW YORK as a world capital is not alone the gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., nor even the inspiration of Webb and Knapp, Inc., real-estate investors. It was actually made possible by a "remarkable real-estate 'packaging' deal" executed by "the vision, ingenuity and hard work of real-estate professionals, namely, Cushman and Wakefield, Inc., a management and brokerage firm. Cushman and Wakefield are modestly admitting in their real-estate ads that they recognized the East Forties as an area particularly suited to large-scale development. From there on in it was like rolling off a log: they persuaded key property owners to sell, they got Webb and Knapp to invest, Webb and Knapp talked to Rockefeller and, presto, a dream city. The result is that Cushman and Wakefield are displaying an award presented by the Real Estate Board to their representatives for assembling for Webb and Knapp the United Nations site—"the most ingenious and beneficial deal of 1946."

JANE BEDELL

Ivan Opfer

ASAF ALI

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Radio

The Land of "Picon"

Columbus, Ohio

I HAVE just returned to my room from the Deshler-Wallick Hotel lobby. The same registration booth for convention delegates is located in the same place in that lobby where exactly 1,113 people had registered for the seventeenth annual Institute for Education by Radio. The same broad platforms covered with green cloth, looking like outsize billiard tables, are still there in that lobby. Only the literature loading those tables now is different, and the delegates registering for the incoming convention are different.

This will be a gathering of salesmen dealing in tangible commodities, things like lingerie and other women's "specialties." Those others are gone. They were the commercial broadcasters, program people, radio writers and producers, professors and professional do-gooders interested in using radio for purposes like democracy and mass education. Since 1930, they have been gathering here at Columbus each year, bending one another's ears, pulling at one another's coat lapels, exchanging ideas and cocktails and professions of great faith in the fact that commercial broadcasting, under the law, is intended only to serve the "public interest, convenience or necessity" (*i.e.*, "Picon"). Now that the professors have gone back to their studies and the broadcasters to their studios, let's take a stroll through this piquant "Land of Picon." There are peaks in that land and valleys, pitfalls and aspirations higher than a transmission tower.

The speaker at the annual banquet was a charming young lady, Barbara Ward. Her subject was "Radio in One World." At 32, she is one of Great Britain's better known economists, and foreign editor of the *Economist* (London). In 1936, she became a member of the board of governors of the British Broadcasting Corporation. She is as brilliant and as eloquent as she is lovely. Her speech was clocked at one hour and 20 minutes without halt for commercial or station identification, and its outline didn't half fill a sheet of paper.

She was impressive and outspoken. She pleaded that international broadcasting be taken away from the diplomats and be made a tool for peace instead of a weapon of war. She asked that UNESCO be implemented forcefully now. Then she got around to our domestic broadcasting. Sure of her ground as a welcome guest, she pulled no punches. Her statistics as to the amount of time we devote to soap operas, comedy and audience-participation shows were inaccurate. But her opinion of such programming was candidly expressed, and it was negative. Even if we plead, she said, that we do no harm to our people with that type of programming, how will we of the American radio justify ourselves before history for having been content with broadcasting activities which have failed to work to their fullest as a means of education for democracy?

I DEVOTE this much space to Miss Ward because her speech, and its reception, were symbolic not only of the Institute but of American radio as well. She had sat throughout the long dinner between two of the most ingratiating men in American radio—Edgar Kobak, president of the Mutual Broadcasting System, and Clifford J. Durr, a member of the Federal Communications System and the conscience of the FCC. She said that, between Durr and Kobak, she felt as if she were being driven into schizophrenia. One tried to fill her pretty ear with the virtues of our radio system, the other with its evils and shortcomings. She wondered whether either was right. For her information—and yours—both are.

Miss Ward's ovation was due in part, of course, to her eloquence. But the biggest hand, next to hers, went to Durr; and he had been introduced, after about 40 other prominent guests, only for a bow. There was genuineness in the

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Here is also Mr. Karaka's unusual personal story. In his own life, he has repeated the experiences of his people. Secure prosperity under British rule; snubs as well as triumphs when he was an Oxford undergraduate; a growing feeling of identification with the Indian masses as he travelled the country on journalistic missions; a full conversion to the ideal of freedom; and a crushing tragedy here in America—these things have marked his days. These things make his story both moving in itself, and illuminating of the problems of his land.

If you would know what is really happening in India today, and *why*, read this book.

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respect shown Durr. Yet most of the people in commercial broadcasting hate everything he stands for—keeping commercialism strictly in the counting-house and strictly out of the programming end of the business, a radio devoted to selling ideas and beauty, a radio using its vast technological facilities and its dramatic techniques and its dynamic vitalism for the enrichment of the people's hearts and brains instead of for the aggrandizement of sponsors and the glorification of salesmanship.

Here, in the applause given Durr, was American radio's admission that it, too, was schizophrenic. It wants, first of all, to make money; and does. It wants also to serve public convenience, to forward public interest, to meet public necessity.

There was Edward R. Murrow, the handsomest vice-president in CBS' stable, rising to Durr's defense at a session in which the inept messenger boy of the National Association of Broadcasters accused the FCC commissioner of being "sly." But there was also Earle Ferris, one of radio's most powerful publicists, who in all seriousness dismissed Norman Corwin as unimportant because "he's never sold a bar of soap in his life." There was Erik Barnouw, at a session on "The Social Responsibility of Radio Writers," pointing to FCC statistics which show that the average radio station pays $1 to a radio writer for every $2.39 it pays its time salesmen. There were Morris Novik, radio consultant of the AFL, and Allen Sayler, of the United Auto Workers, CIO, showing that labor has a genuine stake in radio; and there was George W. ("Johnny") Johnstone, radio representative of the NAM, passing out some of the best drinks and warmest good-fellowship east of the Rockies.

WHOM were you to believe here, in whom place greater credence? Of course, few people would have difficulty in choosing sides between the creeds represented by Novik and Sayler on the one hand and by Johnstone on the other. But when a serious radio man like Edward M. Brecher (WQQW, Washington, D. C.) tears into children's programs, denouncing them as sadistic, anti-social and vulgar, you prick up your ears until you hear these same children's shows defended as meeting the child's needs for romance, excitement and understanding of strange phenomena. You pay attention to such a defence when it comes from Olga Druse, the producer-director of "The House of Mystery," and you wonder further when you hear two psychiatrists on the same panel lining up on either side of the Brecher-Druse fence.

At another session, Rex Howell, of KFXJ, Grand Junction, Colorado, argues with evident sincerity that the FCC's "Mayflower" ruling be voided. That's a rule which forbids radio stations to air their own viewpoints in the same way that newspapers editorialize. Howell told of some of his station's activities—for polio control, for slum clearance, for teacher recruitment, for better recreation facilities, for more policemen at higher pay. Unquestionably, these are public services, and he insisted he had the right to provide community leadership through editorials on the air. But along came such people as James Lawrence Fly, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, and Robert D. Leigh, director of the Commission on Freedom of the Press, to dispute Howell and to insist that the "Mayflower" ruling be kept intact. Leigh might accept an amendment of the ruling, but neither he nor Fly trusts the radio broadcasters enough to lift it altogether.

OF COURSE not all of the opinions expressed at this nine-ring circus (at one time, nine panel discussions were going on simultaneously on nine different floors of the hotel) are valid, even where honesty of purpose is conceded. But good health is shown in the very fact that arguments pro and con and in the middle are voiced, that broadcasting still takes time out to hear itself criticized and ripped apart. (The big networks had evidently decided in advance to boycott the Institute. In the end, only NBC's top brass stayed away.)

Much ineptitude was shown up, and many breasts were beaten; for every bash on the head, there was a *mea culpa,* too. An organism that can take the kind of beating radio took at Columbus is not incurable. It may need shock treatment to remove its schizophrenia. But the prognosis is hopeful. SAUL CARSON

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Movies

The Bigger They Are . . .

"DUEL IN THE SUN" isn't too bad a Western. It would still be funny enough, in all its seriousness, to sit through for two hours and 15 minutes were it not for the monstrous inflation of the company's publicity campaign.

So what do you see? "Duel in the Sun" has a good cast, but you will find, even conditioned as you are when you get there, that the movie is so extravagantly executed that even the sunsets are unbelievable. Granted that manifestations of nature are apt to film like cheap postcards, King Vidor, "Duel's" director, exaggerates this technicolor truism to the point of seeming sometimes to flood the sky with blood, an effect seldom if ever achieved by the sun itself.

I think if you were to take some of "California," every difficult foot of those same beautiful rocks in "Pursued," quite a chunk of "Rain" (there is a sexy minister in "Duel"—played by Walter Huston—who is called "The Sinkiller" and to whom most of the church groups objected) and—as a model for Jennifer Jones—the girl in "White Cargo," you'd have a fairly comprehensive idea of the ingredients of "Duel in the Sun."

Jennifer Jones appears as a very dark half-breed, often luscious, and sometimes dressed in a serape, draped, oddly enough, like a sari. At other times, wearing a sombrero and little else, she gives to the proceedings the movie-Mexican touch customary in the middle twenties.

By all means observe Gregory Peck, as an *homme fatal,* biting the ear of a recalcitrant horse. Peck, it occurred to me on seeing "The Macomber Affair," could be a perfect, slick villain. But this time he is made to look so rouged and mannered ("the nights are long on the prairie") that stodgy as is his brother, played by Joseph Cotten, you feel the sooner Peck comes to a bad end the better. Lionel Barrymore is in "Duel in the Sun," and Lillian Gish, puzzled and frail, plays his wife. But-

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"A Shield Has Two Sides" is not sold through bookstores for reasons you will readily understand after you have read the first few pages. But the Publishers will gladly send a copy on approval to any sincere seeker of knowledge, over 21, who seeks unbiased facts about the Christian Church and how it functions today. Dramatic illustrations. First editions, which well may become collectors' items, are priced at $1.00.

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terfly McQueen, an unadulterated delight who was in "Gone with the Wind," is the entrancing, addlepated maid.

The story of "Duel in the Sun," and I don't know how it compares with the book, concerns a half-white, half-Indian girl, Jennifer or Pearl, who is sort of ceded to a former sweetheart of her sentimental father (Herbert Marshall) before he kills her mother (Tilly Losch). So the girl goes to live with Senator and Mrs. McCanles (Barrymore and Gish), where she gets good and mixed up with their two sons. (The boys' greeting, in identical spacing, goes: "Pleased to meet you"—two beats—"Pearl.") There are some hot scenes, not counting how that girl wraps herself around every doorway and wall she encounters; and the end, when the dying Pearl claws her way through half an acre of opalescent hills to reach her no-good lover whom she has accurately and repeatedly shot, is very affecting. SHIRLEY O'HARA

"CARNEGIE HALL" marks the turning point in the development of motion-picture mores. It celebrates Hollywood's osmosis of Philip Wylie's doctrine of "Momism." The central character in a generally inferior film is an archetypal Mom-figure—a Carnegie Hall charwoman with noble thoughts but a single-track mind, portrayed with almost complete lack of color and imagination by Marsha Hunt. When William Prince, as her son, resents his Mom's insistence that he abandon his interest in popular music in order to continue his preparation for a career as a concert pianist, he does not sublimate his frustration in thoughts about the sacredness of motherhood. Like the son of a viper he is, he turns on Mom, lashes her with an adder's tongue and walks right out of her life.

The inviolable idealism which leads Miss Hunt to this impasse with her boy is engendered, not by love of music but by infatuation with a piece of real estate. Since an appearance in Carnegie Hall is Miss Hunt's only measure of musical stature, the final reconciliation is easy: Prince, having made great strides in popular music, appears there with Harry James's band.

A number of celebrated musical performers, all paragons of affability and quick human sympathy, contribute walk-on and bit parts. Jan Peerce gives Miss O'Driscoll, a low-voiced microphone crooner, a helpful vocal lesson by singing "O Sole Mio." Jascha Heifetz benignly offers to defray the expenses of a Carnegie Hall debut recital for a young girl who looks as though the assignment of playing at a high-school assembly would leave her completely undone. Walter Damrosch engages in sententious reminiscences of the time Tschaikowsky conducted in Carnegie Hall, looking—as a flashback shows—not unlike Monty Woolley.

A good deal of music is played and sung in the moments between grip episodes of the plot. Some pieces—among them the "Meistersinger" prelude by Bruno Walter and the Philharmonic, and the Chopin A flat Polonaise and Manuel de Falla "Fire Dance" by Artur Rubinstein—emerge intact, well recorded and free from serious visual distractions. On the other hand, Gregor Piatigorsky's audiences will now expect the famous cellist, in every future recital, to play "The Swan" to the accompaniment of six lady harpists clad in identical dinner dresses. Risë Stevens may well be invited to join the cast of the Old Howard in Boston, where the burlesque customers would appreciate the heaves of décolleté bosom with which she vivifies Delilah's love for Samson. And the New York fire sirens have been rendered obsolete by the recording of Heifetz's solo part in the Tschaikowsky violin concerto: it is many decibels louder and indescribably more piercing. CECIL SMITH

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Farm

Turning Off the Tap

A FEW years ago I visited a Spanish American village near Santa Fe, New Mexico, which was largely dependent on water from a government irrigation project. An old man of the village showed me the dam and the irrigation system which carried the water to the thirsty crops. When I asked him what he thought of the government, he said, "The government I like him very much. He saved my people. My family lived here 200 years. Then the cattlemen came and ruined the range and he come and reseeded the range and dried up the river. Then the government built these things and now we have water."

There are hundreds of such projects throughout our 700 million Western desert acres. Many of them are small. But others are large, covering millions of acres. The big ones, such as the projects for the Columbia Basin, the California Central Valley and the Colorado-Big Thompson, are mainly unfinished, and although vast sums have been spent on them, they will be largely worthless unless completed. And now the House of Representatives proposes to withdraw most of the government aid from irrigation projects and let the people shift for themselves, in spite of the fact that thousands of veterans and others are clamoring for farms. I am referring to the action of H. R. 3123, which cut Bureau of Reclamation funds 57 percent.

The Columbia Basin project will eventually irrigate a million acres in Central Washington. The Bureau of Reclamation planned to irrigate 400,000 to 450,000 acres by 1950-51, but if the House bill is enacted, development will be delayed until 1960. Pumps must be installed and water-distribution systems completed before there are any irrigation benefits. About $100 million has already been spent.

Under the House bill it will take 27 years to finish the Central Valley job. If the Reclamation Bureau could get the necessary money, it could be finished in six years. One hundred and sixty million dollars has been spent on this project, which, if completed, will irrigate several million acres. Under the House bill the Colorado-Big Thompson project—which should be finished in five years—will take 20 years. This huge engineering job, started in 1939, has driven one of the world's longest tunnels—13 miles—through the Rockies to divert surplus water from the western slope to the eastern slope. Close to $50 million has already been spent, and the work will show almost immediate results in water and power to relieve the desperate shortage of both on the western fringe of the Great Plains, where irrigation pumps were shut down last year for lack of power.

It was claimed that the House cuts were made for reasons of economy, but because the projects, except for flood-control features, are completely self-liquidating, other reasons must have been decisive. The House action seems to be part of the general campaign to deny the people the benefits of the development of the West and to turn over our natural resources to private land grabbers and corporate interests. The fight against public administration of our public lands, cuts in appropriations of the Grazing Service and agitation for repeal of the 160-acre-limitation law, which restricts use of government irrigation water to family-size farms, are all part of this campaign.

ON THE 700 million acres west of the 97th meridian, the rainfall is generally less than 20 inches a year. And few crops do well on such a small amount of rain. Western land is virtually worthless unless irrigated. Although only 21 million acres are irrigated, crops on this land produce 54 percent of the West's farm income. Even with the hundreds of millions of acres of grazing lands, the West is not a net exporter of meat. It does, however, produce great quantities of vegetables and fruits on its irrigated lands.

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four million acres have been developed by the government and present projects call for the development of several million more. About two million are in Central Valley and one million are in the Columbia Basin project. A Bureau of Reclamation official told me recently that farms in the Washington projects would provide a good living from the land for about 50,000 people, and possibly for three times that number in towns which would derive their income indirectly from the agricultural development. Furthermore, the project would more than pay for itself by the sale of power and irrigation water.

In the early days all the electricity from government dams was used to power the irrigation water and move it onto the arid soil. But as the projects grew, much power became available for industrial and municipal use. The sale of power is very important in any reclamation project. It not only makes it a self-liquidating investment but provides cheap power for REA coöperatives and many other groups.

DEVELOPMENT of the West depends on government capital. Private capital has not been, and will not be, able to finance such colossal projects, though private enterprise itself would gain immeasurably by their development. Even the power companies which are fighting the Bureau's work would benefit. It has been proved time and again that yardstick power plants which force competing private plants to reduce rates actually benefit the private companies because they can sell a great deal more power at the lower price.

Irrigation of dry land is America's last frontier. All the good humid land is gone. There is none available for those one-horse farmers in the South who are displaced by large-scale mechanized farming. Now that the cotton-picking machine is on the march, millions of these people will soon have no place to go. Opportunities should be furnished them. It is estimated that 21 million more acres may ultimately be irrigated with the present water resources of the West. If these resources are not developed, not only the West but the whole country will suffer.

ANGUS MCDONALD

Correspondence

Thanks from Centralia

SIR: We, the officers and members of Local Union 52, UMWA, wish to thank all organizations, committees or individuals who so generously helped during the sad disaster at Centralia Coal Company, No. 5 mine.

HENDRIX LAUGHUNN, President,
WILLIAM ROWEKAMP, Secretary,
WILLIAM ED AUBERRY,
Centralia, Ill. Financial Secretary

Soviet Forces in Germany

SIR: In the Moscow Conference Report of your April 7 issue, Alexander Kendick wrote: ". . . Actually the Russians have been gradually withdrawing the occupation units and their forces in Germany are now believed to be no more than 150,000 men—considerably fewer than the American or British forces. . . ." Kendrick might have gotten away with it if General McNarney, retiring commander of the United States Forces, European Theatre, had not returned to Washington just about the time Kendick's remark was being circulated to your readers.

"Concerning occupation forces in Germany today," says the New York *Times* of April 5 in reporting an interview with McNarney, "the General said the Soviet Union maintained an army about equal in numbers to the combined United States, French and British forces.

"Recently reduced, the Soviet force is now estimated between 400,000 and 450,000 men, General McNarney added."

New York City BEATRICE ALEXANDER

[We cabled Kendrick about this and got the following reply: "Occupation estimate comes from some of McNarney's own people here and similar to figures struck by United States correspondents recently in that zone. But obviously nobody knows. My understanding is that not much difference in sizes." – THE EDITORS]

"You Poor Heroes"

SIR: I sit down at my table to work. . . . There is a knock at the door. My photographer from Haifa enters.

"Shalom!"

"Shalom!"

The Hebrew greeting means "peace."

"I bring the photos you took of the *Theodor Herzl*," says Polish-born Moshe Vitkin.

"I owe you . . .?"

"Nothing for this lot! They're a present from Palestine—to the world."

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I look at my picture of the ship, the *Theodor Herzl,* lying listing in the harbor, bearing this wild prayer painted on its side: "The Germans destroyed our families and our homes; don't you destroy our hopes!" . . . Close to the railing, young Jews, with blood-soaked bandages about their heads, hold up their two murdered comrades for the quayside to see—their comrades who after 14 years of torture in Europe gaze at the shores of Erez Izrael. . . . The dead men alone look calm. They know they're entering the promised land legally, for, as the saying here goes, the only way a Jew may enter Bevin's Palestine is—as a corpse.

Finally come photographs of the 26 scrapped refugee ships lying rotting in Haifa's harbor. . . . On one of them some brutal jester had painted a crimson swastika.

But on the smallest of them all, a listing nutshell of a ship, words are scrawled expressing the most profound admiration and the deepest pity of which the human heart is capable. The words had been painted on the tiny smokestack in great haste with a dripping brush—and these are the words: YOU—POOR—HEROES.

Zion Inn, Palestine EDITA MORRIS

Labor

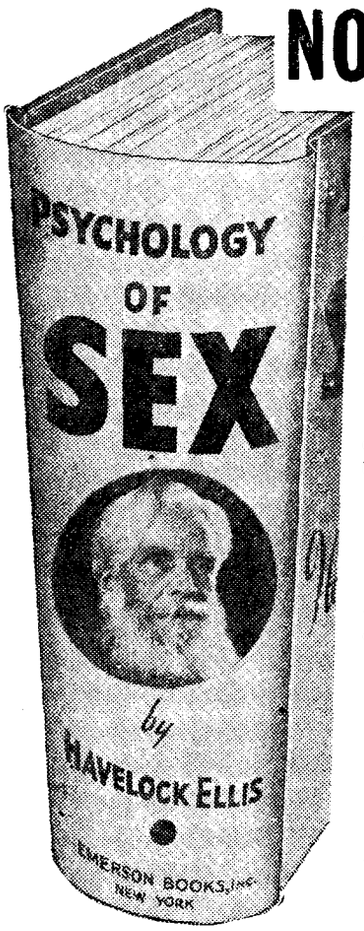
Labor's Failure

IN ITS belated advertising drive against labor legislation, the AFL accused Senator Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) of saying that the bill covered about three-quarters of the matters "pressed on us very strenuously by employers." Taft did not deny the quotation, but he said that the "one-quarter omitted" from the bill represented measures designed to break unions, which he opposed. He retorted, more tellingly, that union spokesmen generally had shown a wholly negative attitude about union "abuses." He added a clincher—that the Senate bill's "fundamental reforms" were actually demanded by the "people," including many union members themselves. Labor's leaders would be well advised to study this retort.

I do not see how Taft's statement can be convincingly denied. It is perfectly true that congressmen have received letters from union members—members kicked around by heavy-handed labor bosses or outright racketeers—asking legislative relief. It is also true that the election returns last November represented, at least to some extent, public anxiety about strikes and the power of unions.

The labor bills moving this year through Congress are drastic, ill advised and an attack upon the growth of economic democracy. But for most of the unhappy position of labor today the unions have only themselves to blame. They have neglected the field of public relations, clung to outworn techniques and organizational structure, shown weakness in political action and frequently pursued narrow class interests.

The CIO, as a younger organization



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with the habit of breaking precedents, has carried on its community approach—its approach in public relations—on a broader, more progressive scale than the AFL, but even the CIO has been guilty of safeguarding its apparently selfish interests at the expense of the community.

A specific example was the scandalous situation last year in Chicago's public schools, where both the CIO and the AFL had school-board members. The Chicago newspapers, vigorously attacking the school administration, got no help from the CIO and AFL board members. These respectable gentlemen apparently preferred to get along with the then Democratic boss, Mayor Edward J. Kelly, despite appeals that a bad school system was bad for the children of union members. Not until the North Central Association threatened to disaccredit the Chicago schools did the CIO board member take himself off the spot by resigning. The AFL board member continued to ride out the storm with the sinking Kelly ship, though the public revolt against Kelly soon was strong enough to force him out of office.

THE CIO, which has a political-action program on paper, has not been too successful in getting the program into effect. The CIO is much more vigorous than the AFL in appealing to Congress for such measures as the anti-poll-tax bill, a fair-employment-practice bill, an anti-lynch bill and a bill to modify the Senate filibuster, but in 1946 CIO unions accomplished relatively little in bringing about the election of progressive congressmen who would pass such legislation.

American conservatives have a habit of trying to discourage political activity by unions; they treat it as something unclean and "corrupt." The truth is that unionism now is so large that it cannot defend itself by economic action alone. The leaders of labor recently have begun to emphasize that union members and their families—perhaps 50 million or more—are a major part of the American "public," and that no law passed against unions can correctly be said to be in the public interest. That is true—but it is an ineffective statement so long as labor is not politically literate, politically active and intimately concerned with the broadest concerns of the whole national community.

IN THE telephone strike, four payless pay days were more than enough for the members of the National Federation of Telephone Workers and additional striking independent unions. American Telephone & Telegraph Company won its month-long fight to break the unions' solid front by refusing to offer a national wage settlement. The strikers began settling on a local basis for weekly wage increases of $2.50 to $5, without approval of the NFTW policy committee.

The NFTW probably would have got more for its members by accepting Secretary of Labor Schwellenbach's arbitration offer two weeks earlier; no arbitration board conceivably would have awarded less than the 15-cent hourly wage rises—$6 a week—obtained through collective bargaining in steel, automotive and electrical industries.

This, however, is second-guessing the strike leaders. There was no assurance, furthermore, that AT&T would ever have accepted Schwellenbach's proposal for arbitration on a national basis. The real question is whether the NFTW has come through the strike with a sense of solidarity remaining among the unions. If so, AT&T will eventually have to face a tougher union demand for nationwide bargaining.

WILLARD SHELTON

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Stand-Off

Destruction of the Texas City, Texas, styrene plant of Monsanto Chemical Company will set back seriously the expansion plans of that company, but should not affect current earnings materially. – *From* Barron's National Business and Financial Weekly.

Double Trouble

Mr. Stein [driver of the bread truck], according to the police, was apparently knocked unconscious in the accident and was drowned. The bread was ruined. – *From the New York* Herald Tribune.

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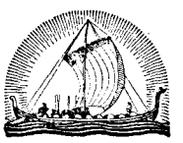

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